THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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G. C. GODBER, Clerk of the County Council, County Hall, Chichester, 12th May, 1969.

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those sciences on which our technological civilization so obviously depends is not the sole business of a university, and that there clearly needs to be provision too for advancing and communicating the available knowledge of human nature and society, he emphasizes the supremely relevant importance of psychology and the Social Studies.

Here, of course, without suspecting it (that's what's so frightening), he drops a clue for us to take up. But to complete my own emphasis: if we don't, giving with conviction the strong positive grounds—which means presenting (and serving in action) our own very different conception of a university, explicitly repudiate Lord Robbins's, we shall have resigned ourselves to accepting the idea of English as a soft option, with all the futility that involves. Lord Robbins has the world with him, and, whatever resistance professional pride and the sense of responsibility may offer, the pressures and the insidious climate will prevail if the pride and the responsibility are not those of a completely and strongly conceived function.

I find myself from time to time saying—some here may have heard me say—that we have to insist, and compel for English the corresponding respect (there is no respect as things are), that we stand for a discipline of intelligence as genuine as that of any of the sciences and certainly not less important. It was that tactical emphasis I had in mind when, writing an essay on *Anna Karenina*, I chose (beforehand) for subtitle: "Thought and Significance in a Great Creative Work." The discipline is *sui generis*. But to insist effectively on these things implies some sort of apprehension on the part of the enemy of a whole context that gives them their meaning and force. So to turn now to the cliché about the "two categories" under which university work falls—"contribution to knowledge and communicating knowledge to students": by it English is excluded from among serious studies. Neither the distinction nor the terminology, the language, applies where English is concerned. When enforcing this assertion positively one is insisting both on the unique nature of English as a university study and on its central and basic importance. My aversion from the word "teach" preceded—it was only intensified by—my acquaintance with those American "notes on contributors" that tell one that X or Y or Z "teaches" Joyce or Thomas Mann or Faulkner or the *Contos* at this or the other college or university. If one's concern is essentially with literature one doesn't think of oneself as "teaching". One thinks of oneself as engaged with one's students in the business of criticism—which, of its nature, is collaborative. The student, on his part, ought to be able to think of himself as belonging to a collaborative community formed by the English School as a whole, undergraduates, graduate students and permanencies: and the more, let me add parenthetically, he can feel that it transcends departmental frontiers the better, the community being a model or paradigm of the ideal—for it doesn't now exist—educated public that (ideally) makes possible at any time a performance of the function of criticism. The collaboration is essentially a creative one.

And I don't contradict that when I say that the community should see itself as essentially aiming in its work—in its total collaboration—at performing the function of criticism in our time. This proposition isn't heroic crusading elevation, but practical good sense and absolutely necessary realism *vis-à-vis* the bi-categorists and Robbinses. I don't need to argue that there is no acquisition, no taking possession of creative works without value-judgment, and that judgments can't be taken over; they are made in genuine personal self-commitment by each student for himself, or there is no judging, and no acquisition, so far as he is concerned. Nor need I elaborate the case about the nature of judgment that some here will feel, perhaps, I have insisted on too much. I will confine myself to a minimal reminder. The form of a judgment being "This is so, isn't it?", the question is a request for corroboration; but it is prepared for an answer in the form "Yes, but—", the "but" standing for qualifications, reservations, additions, corrections. And here we have the paradigm of the process by which the poem (say) is established as something of common access standing "out there" in what is in some sense a public world. We have at the same time a pregnant hint of the nature of the Third Realm and the way in which it is creatively renewed and kept in continuous being. In my philosophical innocence I hit, let me explain, on this term as a way of laying an emphasis on that creative human reality of significances, values and non-mensurable ends which our technologico-Benthamite civilization ignores and progressively impoverishes, thus threatening human existence. It is this blankness (and it manifests itself a great deal, both among the masses and the enlightened élite, as hostility) that I have in mind when I speak of "spiritual Philistinism".

Of course, we shan't make much impression on the bi-categorists, Annans and Robbinses—on either the conscientious or the unconscientious promoters of spiritual Philistinism—by talk about the nature of the existence of a poem. Indeed, it wouldn't be realism to count on making a decisive impression on them even by such an address as I hope to have given by the time I stop. Great changes are not effected so easily. When I spoke of realism I was thinking of that truth, as well as of the need to issue a clear challenge to the promoters of spiritual Philistinism at once—a challenge that will be generally recognized to be one (for that is immensely desirable). To try again; I was thinking of the obvious truth that, in such a world as that in which we live, it is only by cultivating the fullest understanding of what our responsibility to that world is that we shall conquer footing and licence to make a serious attempt at discharging it.

No one, it need hardly be said, with professional responsibility in a Department of English would think of an English course as a matter of some poems, or a selection of novels, or even an assortment of authors, to be studied. We all here know that as guides and fellow-students of our students we are concerned with relations between works, between the creative achievements of different authors, between different pasts, and between the past and the present. These matters of consideration are generally thought of as coming under the head of Literary History. Let me say at once that I'm not at all happy about what commonly comes under that head, or about what's commonly understood by Literary History—"understood", as a matter of fact, seems to me a misleading word. Indeed, I think that the question, What *is* Literary History?, is one that all the members, senior and junior, of an English School ought to have steadily in mind. But I don't think they will be making what they ought of it if it doesn't bring them constantly back to another question, which is much more fundamental: What *is* English Literature?

It is a question to which an English School should be constantly working out the answer—not a theoretical, but a concrete answer. This is to formulate again the proposition that I threw out earlier: that an English School should conceive its business as being to perform, or to make a serious attempt at performing, the function of criticism in our time. For English Literature has its life in the present, or not at all. It will be "there", if it is to be a potent living reality, in a public that cares—and cares intelligently—about it; and that it shall be a living reality it is the function of criticism to ensure. The performance of that function implies a collaborative interplay, so that in a state of cultural health there would be more than one intelligent critic practising—there would be a whole corps of them (and there would be an expectation in an intelligent public of serious current criticism in the weekly journals and the newspapers). But the function of criticism will be far from fully performed if there is no critic writing who is not original in a major way—and "original" here means capable of the *innovating* criticism that, however strong the resistance, can get its essential judgments accepted by reason of their manifest irresistibleness. Only such a critic, in an age when a notable change in cultivated taste, predisposition and critical assumption is called for, can make the necessary judgments about the present out of a profound and vivid sense of the relation of the present to the past.

I am not counting on the presence of such a critic in every English School—or in any. The point I've wanted to enforce is that it would be absurd not to make the most of T. S. Eliot. For if Eliot (here's my immediate emphasis) is a decisively original critic, and a critic of whom it may still be said that he belongs to our time, the discussion of his value in relation to my argument entails a critical appreciation of his whole achievement. I am a little embarrassed by my consciousness that I have twice already in public disquisitions invoked Eliot in this way—at Cheltenham recently and two years ago in my Clark lectures. But that fact, after all, only testifies to my confirmed conviction (and the absurdity of not giving him to the full the attention he so obviously challenges will be recognized by everyone who confronts our problem. More bluntly, he's there, and we can't do without him. He serves incomparably well the need to introduce into the student's work from the beginning the organic structural principle or impulsion (in the form, necessarily, of perceptions and apprehensions that are energies, and impel to growth and living organization).

I will revert here for a moment to the head of realism. I have found myself from time to time commenting at Cambridge on the monstrous *unrealism* of the expectation that is formally entertained of the undergraduate—the conventional (and official) assumption regarding the amount of reading and learning he can reasonably be asked to get done in his two or three years. It is, of course, only an unrealism of formal demand: it means in practice that a journalistically gifted student can refrain decidedly from overworking and get a First on a canny investment in odds and ends. (How Margaret Drabble got a First at Cambridge I won't conjecture, but, as you know, she makes it public, and I've no doubt with truth, that she did no work.) I, myself, I suppose, might be said to expect a great deal of students. I think I do. But first let me emphasize this necessary condition: no one should be admitted to read English at any university who isn't of university quality and hasn't a positive bent for literary study. You may call *this* unrealistic. I hope not; for if you are not prepared to fight with unyielding conviction, and the relevant *true* realism as to standards, on this issue you may as well recognize at once that the cause is lost, and that it matters very little how we should conceive the function we are supposed to stand for. I take that as granted. I take it as granted too that the seniors in the school should be, for as many as may be, the most part, persons interested in living, in such a way that they take pleasure and profit in discussing it with intelligent fellow-students.

When I say, then, that the student should feel that he belongs to a collaborative community I mean something real by "collaborative". The *raison d'être* of the school is (to be properly comparable to that it now is, the influential current analogy) of an industrial plant turning out products; it will be largely in what the community is in its collective point I shall revert to later. Immediately it may be said, with regard to the student concerned as someone undergoing Higher Education, that the problem of acquiring something coherent, meaningful and organic, a living reality that he can carry away with him (or *in* him) is obviously far affected radically, and in a desirable way, by his collaborative membership. The "function of criticism at the present time" is to insist on an emphasis that I intend seriously, inheres in the total collaboration; he will have felt himself to be of momentous consequences for the spirit of work and his grasp of the truth that it's his present, or not at all, that English Literature has its life.

And this brings me back to where I took off. I was referring to the immense help in this matter of the relation between present and the past and the way in which organic (and therefore changing) English Literature exists, transcending the "past" and "present" of empiricist commonsense, in what I got from Eliot. He offers to deal with the themes, of course, in his best-known theoretical essays, the first two in *Selected Essays*, the third of which is widely supposed to be a classic piece of thinking ("theoretical criticism" but they are not, where the critic is in question, what I have in mind.

They seem to me pretentious, confused and unilluminating, and to exemplify a bad line of French influence on Eliot. Their method, function and use is to serve as distinguished examples of bad criticism. And this is a reason for making an important point: it is an essential aspect of Eliot's value for us that intelligent critical recognition of what he achieved can but entail adverse and severely-limiting judgments. And it will certainly be a great advantage to a student to find himself, in the opening stages of his course, distinguishing evaluations in a context of preoccupation that enables him to do so with conviction, between the modes of critical offer represented by, on the one hand, "Tradition and the Individual Talent", which has been found so impressive and quotable, and, on the other, the essays on seventeenth century.

In particular, it is the one on the "Metaphysical Poets" (a review of Grierson's *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems*) that truly is] with pregnant effect illuminates the nature where there is a living creative continuity in great literature, of the relation between present and the past. I ought to add at once reference to the help that, in another sense, provided by J. B. Leishman. When I say that it is something for which gratitude is due, not just indulging in irony. That in so many notable a book as *The Monarch of Wit*, which I first valued in Donne, and registers in its scholarly usefulness, he should be prepared unwittingly by the author with a challenge of crucial dissenting judgment is to be hailed a piece of good luck, and we should use the challenge as a *locus classicus*. I say "crucial" because for the student who sees the judgment as inevitable and unanswerable an insight flashed in such a way as to become, not just light (it is magnificently that) on the different

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...ical criticism and that which answers ...ful sense of "academic", but an inner ...people for him—an active potency of ...s and organizing intelligence in his ...

...are the sentences to memorize of the ...n which Leishman throws doubt on ...al value of Eliot's commentary on the ...ecials; they form the focal *locus* ...

...e place (Eliot having been with urbane ...ced as unscholarly (does he not base his ...n the good poems, whereas there are many ...in these essays and elsewhere, Mr. Eliot ...not merely in a spirit of disinterested ...though he never explicitly admits it) ...ching of an axe to grind. He was ...not merely as a critic, but as a poet, or as ...e himself calls a "poetic practitioner", and ...always at the back of his mind was this: ...e earlier poets can a modern English ...profitably learn?" His preoccupation with ...son largely explains both his exultation ...e metaphysicals and that denigration of ...which he continued intermittently for the ...y years.

...e's academic blankness here matches ...ctive blankness of the Snow world. ...e is dismissing is the possibility of an ...ed of English Literature. By ...y (it's a revealing metaphor) of Eliot's ...y interest as "an axe to grind" he ...s that it's arbitrary, and inimical to ...l intelligence. But in fact it's the ...s of the sensitized percipience that any ...ast critic—and the student aims at ...s—takes to the past. Eliot's "axe to ...s" was that of the poet who was qualified ...ed and bent for the task to which he ...d himself: that of proving that some...ould happen in English poetry after ...ure.

...e lines of inquiry into the nineteenth ...e incites to, and orientates for, I'll put ...though certainly the student won't. The ...r point I have to make is that the ...e value of Eliot's criticism in these ...enth-century essays is conditioned by ...e "poetic practitioner's" and having ...ations of aim and scope that that ...ession implies. They are wonderfully ...ct, but disciplined by the practitioner's ...actitioner's) special interest, and sharply ...d their importance for us is readily ...It is given in two separate sentences in ...ay on "The Metaphysical Poets". One ...ecent second in the essay) gives us the ...ing preoccupation of the modern major ...aining poet: "The possible interests of a ...are unlimited; the more intelligent he is ...more likely that he will have interests; our ...condition is that he turn them into poetry, ...has merely meditate on them poetically." ...ter tells us what his preoccupation found ...ially relevant to it in the seventeenth ...y: "The poets of the seventeenth ...the successors of the dramatists of the ...ge, possessed a mechanism of sensi...that could devour any kind of experience." ...please we need to emphasize in this ...ason's "the successors of the dramatists": ...s to point out in that ostensibly casual way, it ...ook on the critic who is a "poetic prac...ner", and it makes quite plain what it is ...ght valued in Donne, and registers in ...ve as original critical perception that is ...of first importance for us, as for every ...dent of English Literature. It matters a great ...deal more where Donne is in question than ...ctness as "felt thought" and the phrases ...ton's essay that made the "metaphysical ...bility" a fashionable theme in the days ...Empson's early poems. It points us back ...to Shakespeare, for Shakespeare, whatever ...ers of the minor writers Eliot may have ...in mind, was the great master in the ...ground. And what Donne, the master ...metaphysical school, did that mattered ...to Eliot the poetic innovator was to ...into non-dramatic poetry the Shake...use of the English language.

...Eliot owed a debt to Donne it was a debt to ...espeare. And that he did owe such a debt ...es plain when, in the context of these ...derations, we re-read that early poem of ...Portrait of a Lady". It appeared in *Prufrock* ...during that first war, and that the obvious ...ment on it has not been obvious thereo...years shows how little what Eliot offers ...been taken. We, at any rate, can say: ...in 1917 this young poet had decisively ...ed expression" ("expression", you ...e only altered by a man of genius"). ...e's no suggestion of metaphysical intel...ity in the poem; nor is there anything ...the manner that prompts us to say "Shake...an". But, though the rhythms and the ...ction can have offered no problems ...conventionally cultivated reader even in ...1917 Eliot's use in verse of the English ...ge should have been seen to be momen...ly innovating. His effects, achieved with ...ely precision, depend upon his appealing ...the reader's sense of how things go naturally ...e living spoken language and the speaking ...e. Thus he exercises, in the only way ...e, a subtle command of shifting tone, ...ce, distance and tempo. We are given ...e to reflect on the significance of his ...ion (in the essay on Marvell) to the pre...ion of Victorian poetry with creating a ...world or poetical otherworld. The mode ...ntrasts of a Lady" engages the full atten...of the waking mind. Moreover, it excludes ...ery no "interest" of the practitioner's

poem contains no suggestion of any taxing intellectual challenge, we can see in the poetic the potentiality of the strongest presence of thought: there is no paradox in the development that, starting here, culminated in *Four Quartets*.

I'm not lecturing you on Eliot: I haven't been instructing you, whatever the appearances. You see my embarrassing dilemma. I must, in my effort to put before you what, relevantly to our concern, I have in mind, inevitably works a great deal in terms of exemplary illustration. My illustrations necessarily involve much personal judgment; they are pondered and responsible, and I think them sound, but I don't forget the "yes, but ——". That is, I count on their receiving enough assent from you to serve my purpose, which is to define vividly (and not abstractly, which is in fact impossible) what I mean by the principle of life that should inform the student's work—and the work of the total collaboration; the principle that seeks, feels for and develops nervous structure in the developing field of study. I came nearest to putting my finger down and saying, "There you have it", when I brought together that passage of Leishman and the two crucial sentences from Eliot's "The Metaphysical Poets". I haven't been offering to lay down a syllabus. I know that many kinds of ordering and arranging work are compatible with the spirit that alone can justify and save university English in the world of enlightenment and Lord Robbins. I know that emphases will vary. I know, too, that separate provinces have to be tackled as, for the time, having the centre in themselves, and that the specialist guide is needed. Simply, the living principle, the creative and unifying principle of life, made strongly active as I'm suggesting it should and could be, will affect every patch in the total field of work and make all the difference.

I'm not, then, instructing you about Eliot. I'm pointing to the grounds for my saying that it would be absurd not to make the most of him. But I ought at once to go on to say that I also said: "We can't do without him." If we hadn't had Eliot we should have *had* to do without him, but it would have put us under a serious disadvantage. The truism that English Literature has its life in the present or not at all has to be effectively asserted: it is basic. If we have to hand the means of bringing home strongly in the face of Lord Robbins, Lord Balogh and the enlightened, the force of the associated truth, that life is growth (not economic growth) and creative responsiveness to change, we should *use* them. The progressive's acceptance of the fact of change has for corollary a contempt for tradition, conceived as a timid clinging to old habits, and implicitly posited as the only alternative. That is why I avoid the word "tradition", and, in speaking of the need to maintain cultural continuity, insist that the maintaining, being either a strongly positive drive of life or pitifully nothing, is creative. Only in terms of literature can this truth be asserted with effect in our world, and the asserting must be, not a matter of dialectic but itself, in a patently illustrative way, an assertion of life. And here I can state the unique nature, and the central importance of English as a university study.

The problem of ensuring that the force of the truism I have appealed to tells as it ought in the student's work—in the work of the school as a whole—points to the desirability of there being a major creative writer of our time who deserves study as such. Well, we *have* Eliot, the last—the most recent—manifestation of major creativity in our literature who died only the other day. If his supreme work, *Four Quartets*, was completed twenty-five years ago, that doesn't make him any the less, in relation to the distinctive stresses of technological civilization, a great creative writer of *our* time. We must give him in any working scheme of study the place that his claims to attention and our need indicate. For one thing, that is the only way of countering the conviction, which will certainly persist among the enlightened, that the right response at the university to change is to introduce into the English department the study of really modern literature, which means the writers who are for the time being accepted quasi-classical values in the B.B.C. world, and the contemporary classics who are brought back by students and young lecturers from their year or two in America.

Of course, D. H. Lawrence is a much greater writer, and a critic—an incomparably greater critic than Eliot. But he doesn't lend himself to our needs in the clear way in which Eliot does—doesn't, that is, in a way that helps me in my expository problem. Eliot's special eligibility for our purposes is bound up with his being so much the lesser writer. That is what I meant when I said, earlier, that it is an essential aspect of Eliot's value for us that intelligent recognition of what he achieved can't but entail adverse and severely limiting judgments. So much and so clearly is that so that I must now emphasize his major quality.

Major quality in a creative writer manifests itself in his being very exceptionally alive to his age and responsive to its deeper-lying spiritual stresses and sicknesses. "Conscious" is a significant word of Eliot's—"They had not the consciousness to perceive that they felt differently and therefore must use words differently." This sentence of his invites us to remark that, if he wrote his best criticism as

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of unpurifiable talk, about "technique", he wasn't as a practitioner at all like Ezra Pound. His "alteration of expression" mattered so much because it was a product of "consciousness", that is, because it had behind it the pressure of "interest," that were profound inner needs -needs of the representative kind that make an artist major. Just what they were, and how far representative, it's the business of every collaborative study of Eliot to determine, and in the pursuit of the business students will be inquiring into the profounder problems of our civilization—the problems that sociologists, social scientists, social workers, anti-racialists, statesmen, and the enlightened in general ignore.

I will merely, in order to further the definition of my theme, make minimally two or three points. The profound response to our civilization that makes Eliot a major creative writer is misrepresented by those who perpetuate him as the poet of *The Waste Land*. The corrective is to point to "Difficulties of a Statesman" and then to Section III of "East Coker"; together they give the cue for saying what it is that, central to the Eliotic preoccupation, is at the sick deep centre of the modern psyche and may fairly be called the technologico-Benthamite plight:

> Cry cry what shall I cry?
> The first thing to do is to form the committees:
> The consultative councils, the standing committees,
> select committees and sub-committees,
> One secretary will do for several committees.
> What shall I cry?

Cry?—"participation", obviously. I haven't time to do what I had in mind to do—read the "East Coker" passage ("O dark dark dark") that gives the personal-impersonal depth of involvement and the full pregnancy. What we have there is what troubles us all, whether we know it or not—except, perhaps, the computer-addicts and the Annans. No, even them. It's the loss of ends and significance in the complication of the machinery: all ends having authority lost, all but those lending themselves to statistical mensuration—as reductive "equality" *does*. And to read Eliot's poetry, his major poetry, is to be made to realize in what sense a serious pondering of the plight must necessarily be a matter of thought and exploration at the religious level. And this is the moment for reiteration: above all when confronting the major Eliot does one find oneself compelled to the "yes, but—".

Here we have an essential condition of his appropriateness for our purpose: he prompts, powers and illuminates fundamental exploration but never puts the real reader of his poetry in danger of mere acceptance. Judgment will be tentative, and there will not be a unanimity of tentative judgment in any summing-up group. Conveniently small in quantity as the *oeuvre* is, the Eliotic phenomenon is challengingly complex. My own relevant testimony is that, in the last two or three years I have written three separate critiques of his poetic achievement, different, but not contradictory, and I feel that I might write two or three others. That, for me, is the only way of dealing with him. Undoubtedly, any group paying close attention to his work would be very conscious of the contrasting Lawrence as a background, and the consciousness wouldn't be critically inert or unexpressed. I don't think that the curricular economy I myself should sketch would find room for any set format study of Lawrence. Nevertheless, I could suggest manageable ways of bringing the fundamental contrast to bear on the placing of Eliot, his limitations, his validities and his invalidities.

But there is still something essential to note regarding the seventeenth century and the characteristic immense service Eliot has done us there: I've said nothing about the "dissociation of sensibility". That phrase is now uttered, or written, with an effect of irony, the implication being that we know it now as thoroughly discredited, an unscholarly vagary of the poet that was seized on by the more unscholarly and less excusable advanced critic—which shows, I think, how essential it is that University English should make the most of the insight the phrase registers, the incontestableness of which has been hidden from the professionals by its truth and its pregnancy together. Incontestableness—for does anyone question that in the seventeenth century a momentous total change in civilization took place, so that by its close we have the modern world, launched on its accelerating advance towards the consummation we now know? Eliot's phrase, and I can't think of any that would have done the job better, calls attention to the change as it is manifested in the English language—and manifested so notably in the literary use. It is what hits us so disturbingly when we see what, with sincere deference, Dryden did to Shakespeare in *All for Love*. Could any profounder or more essential change take place, and so rapidly, in a civilization?

The change in literature gives us a magnificent focal line, or (you can say) control, for a study—and the literary student is as such committed to what of that kind may be possible—a study of the total change in its various aspects. If that responsibility is taken seriously, as it must (in relation to our vital modern function) be, some relevant specialists stand to profit by the *liaison* contacts that should be sought, for there is no historian, or philosopher, or political specialist whose thinking wouldn't benefit if he could make an initiatory acquaintance with the kinds of thinking that belong to literary study.

I have raised the supremely important head of *liaison*. Its importance is not to be measured by the amount of time I give to it. In fact, the quantitative criterion has no authority in the realm of our essential concern, life—life itself, which, not being able to engage on it, the invoker of the criterion always leaves out as not really real, or too important to matter, or too axiomatic to count. What we stand for, being (to put it negatively) non-specialist, is, positively, something of which in a university milieu we can with proper optimism say that everyone stands humanly, and that is vitally, in need of it. Some specialists essentially need as such to be fully human, and can be part-disabled by the life-deficiency that impairs vision. I'm not preaching wild optimism. I don't for a moment suppose that you can leaven the whole quantitative lump of a university. But where there is the vital centre I'm envisaging, and the fostered transcending of departmental boundaries, you will have outside the boundaries some understanding of why the centre is vital. Shading outwards beyond that there will be some awareness that humanity can't safely ignore *humanitas*, and further out still, shading off into not unkindly near-indifference, some tacit and vague respect. What I am describing—and don't take it for a Utopian dream—is a university that tells in the life of the country as itself a centre of the informed and responsible opinion that an educated public would make into a climate in which politicians, bureaucrats, Vice-Chancellors' committees and Ministers of Education had to do their planning, negotiating and performing.

I obviously haven't time to convey my sense of the practicality of *liaison* by illustrating the diversity of forms it can take. I will confine myself to an indisputably crucial field where, if anywhere, the opportunities for it must be seized and cultivated—crucial, because a proper aliveness to the fundamental nature of the world's present sickness depends upon some knowledge and perception in relation to that field, and these entail an understanding of what happened there in the seventeenth century when the great change became irreversible. I am thinking of course of the confident start of science upon its accelerating advance. What the student needs to acquire a minimum knowledge of is the way in which the "common-sense notion of the universe" (Whitehead's phrase) took possession of the ordinary man's mind, and with what consequences for the climate of the West and the ethos of our civilization. This involves being able to state intelligently what the Cartesian-Newtonian presuppositions were and to what kind of philosophical impasse they led — that still exemplified in the philosophies of science and the positivist and empiricist fashions that prevail.

Clearly it should be possible to enlist help from the Moral Sciences department. But the English School itself shouldn't be helpless to detect an empiricist bent, with the attendant limitation of his wisdom and use, in the available specialist. That means that there should be at least one person in the school ready to read and discuss with students (say) Marjorie Grene's *The Knower and the Known*, or key parts of it. Where the conditions were ideal there might very well be a small group of students being helped by a qualified guide to appreciate the significance of Whitehead, Collingwood and Michael Polanyi. Such a group might be itself a *liaison* group (I mean, at student level), bringing profit to both elements.

I must say no more about *liaison*: I can only hope I have said enough to suggest its importance. One can't foresee where an interest that an *ad hoc* contact may start will end. It's very possible that the cooperative Moral Scientist will discover interests that have a vital relevance to his thinking in his own field. For the literary student, in any case, there will be a close relation between the inquiries I've just touched on and a grasp of the significance for us of William Blake. Blake is the protest of life against the world of Newton and Locke, and it is in relation to him that the student takes the force of the shift that, in this linkage, has substituted Locke for Descartes. In Locke's epistemology "ideas" have become "impressions", and "impressions" (if visual) are images registered on the passively recipient retina. This, as Blake insists with all the force of the creative affirmation, is to deny the essential creativeness of life, and to be committed, therefore, to repressing life itself. Perception, he insists in art and aphorism, is creative, and there is a continuity from the creativeness of perception to the creativeness of the artist.

You must forgive my appearing to be instructing you about things you are not ignorant of: I don't know how otherwise to make the absolutely essential points. My point at the moment is that, whatever ordering of work you adopt, you must recognize on your chart of the underlying organic structure —which, of course, won't steadily remain merely tacit—the key importance, for any English course that is duly informed with a sense of the present, of Blake—who points forward to the Dickens of *Hard Times* (and not merely of *Hard Times*) and the Lawrence who, with Russell's blank egalitarian enlightenment to fight, invented the word "disquality".

To emphasize creativity as Blake did is to be committed to bringing home to the world, if in a world of Lockean or technologico-Benthamite blankness that can be done, that you can't generalize life, that individual lives can't be aggregated or averaged, and that only in individual lives is life "there". The fact that Locke was, in acceptance and actuality, the philosopher of common sense made him the enemy in a way that ensured Blake's constantly naming him as such—coupled with Newton. For he answered perfectly to the basic canon of the civilization that was to have its assumptions registered in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*: the canon to the effect that nothing intellectual made sense, and nothing really mattered, that wasn't within the compass of the ordinary civilized person as such. But, for my particular approach of the moment, I should have said, "To the Gentleman *qua* Gentleman". The culture was not only common-sense, but "polite". That is, its conventions of expression and all its aspects were in close touch with a code of elegant manners.

What I am calling attention to is the unprecedented insulation established at the end of the seventeenth century (an aspect of the total change) between the "educated" and the popular. It is implicit in the change Eliot points to with his phrase, "dissociation of sensibility", but he doesn't seem to notice it as such. You will recall the way in which he refers to the metaphysicals as the "successors of the dramatists", but doesn't mention Shakespeare, the great relevant fact—the source of life—in the background. Nevertheless he does implicitly, in relation to an intensely realized present, refer us back (and can it have been quite unconsciously?) to Shakespeare. And when we consider his creative achievement and the light thrown on it by his criticism, we find that he takes us back to Shakespeare in a way that has a peculiar relevance to the problem we are faced with in having to define and enforce the function of the university in the technological world. That he should do so partly in spite of himself—by making us realize in full consciousness what he himself doesn't—is characteristic of his full value to us.

His limitation comes out in the third paragraph of "East Coker", where he makes it plain that for him the country-folk of pre-industrial England are yokels. In the interests of economy I'll read a few sentences from my Cheltenham address where I took pains to make the necessary points with extreme brevity.

> Yet the country-folk whom Eliot reduces to this created the English language that made Shakespeare possible. . . . It developed as the articulate utterance of a total organic culture, one that comprehended craft-skills of many kinds, arts of living formed in response to practical exigencies and material necessity through generations of settled habitation, knowledge of life that transcended the experience of any one life-span, subtly responsive awareness of the natural environment. Of course, it had always been affected by higher cultural influences of the kind that commend themselves to Eliot's recognition. But the native language —it was the language of the native priesthood—wasn't weakened by such influences, but strengthened; it responded livingly, and didn't become less English. By the time Shakespeare was discovering his genius there was ready to his hand a vernacular that was marvellously receptive, adventurous and flexible, yet robustly itself; capable, that is, of accommodating and making its own all the influxes of the Renaissance.

Eliot, after all, was a fellow-countryman of Pound: he couldn't, in his imaginative thinking, conceive—in spite of the great fact of Shakespeare—of a sophisticated art that should grow out of a total organic culture.

> By the close of the seventeenth century the conditions of Shakespeare's kind of greatness had vanished for good. Shakespeare could be at one and the same time the supreme Renaissance poet and draw as no one since has ever done on the resources of human experience, the diverse continuities, behind and implicit in a rich and robustly creative vernacular. By 1700 a transformation as momentous as any associated with the development of modern civilization had taken place, never to be reversed. The new Augustan culture represented by Pope and *The Tatler* entailed an unprecedented insulation of the "polite" from the popular. There *could* be no reversal: the industrial revolution, which by the end of the eighteenth century was well advanced, worked and went on working inevitable destruction upon the inherited civilization of the people. Dickens was the last great writer to enjoy something of the Shakespearian advantage. . . .
>
> What has been achieved in our time is the complete destruction of that general diffused creativity which maintains the life and continuity of a culture. For the industrial masses their work has no human meaning in itself and offers no satisfying interest; they save their living for their leisure, of which they have very much more than their predecessors of the Dickensian world had, but don't know how to use it, except inertly—before the telly, in the car, in the bingo-hall, filling Pools forms, spending money, eating fish and chips in Spain. The civilization that has disinherited them culturally and incapacitated them humanly does nothing to give significance . . . to their lives, or to any lives. Significance is a profound human need, like creativity, its associate.
>
> The thwarting of the need, or hunger, has consequences not the less catastrophic because of the general blankness in face of the cause. The complacent "understanding" with which the enlightened contemplate these things is not understanding or enlightenment, but merely a manifestation of the disease from which our civilization is suffering. When the new maturity claimed by Youth Club leaders for today's young has established its independent of any derived from [illegible] experience, the achievement of happiness have been advanced, however [illegible] expectation.
>
> There is no going back: no one will [illegible] me to be implying otherwise. But we [illegible] understand our plight in order to [illegible] kind of effort we have to make. There [illegible] restoring the old kind of general [illegible] maintaining creativity. But it is fatal to [illegible] cultural inertness of the technologico-[illegible] spread and prevail till anything else is [illegible] and incredible. It already nearly is [illegible] T. S. Eliot), and we have for brutal [illegible] tion statesmen who regard a university [illegible] industrial plant, students who can [illegible] their claims to prescribe their curricula [illegible] examine themselves are regarded by [illegible] Vice-Chancellors as discussable [illegible] selves being products of pop-art [illegible] culture of the telly), and Provosts of [illegible] College, Cambridge, like Lord Annan [illegible] Dr. Leach. What we are rapidly heading [illegible] is the hopelessness of America, which [illegible] *knows* in its deep psyche that it won't be [illegible] even when it has solved its racial problem [illegible] achieved a New Deal, landed men on the [illegible] moon, and made a good start towards [illegible] Russia to the next planet.
>
> What we have to look to, what we [illegible] ensure and power, is the maintenance [illegible] cultural continuity by a body of the educated [illegible] of those who are conscious of the general [illegible] The nature of the effort by which we may [illegible] that has been my theme. My "must" [illegible] portend optimism or any form of [illegible] mindedness. I'm not supposing that [illegible] Schools such as I have described are likely [illegible] be realized in all, or half, or even a quarter [illegible] the universities. Nor do I suppose that [illegible] one university will be, as an unqualified [illegible] the centre of consciousness and response [illegible] I've pointed to as the paradigm. But if [illegible] one university became at all known as a [illegible] of creative life and *humanitas* in the [illegible] been trying to suggest, that would be immensely [illegible] worth achieving. That university would [illegible] its great advantage, have a reputation [illegible] it would be a source (and a recipient) [illegible] strength and encouragement in relation [illegible] successful efforts of life in others. If [illegible] were a number of universities, each, [illegible] with its own spreading network of relations [illegible] then there would be the educated [illegible] without which there is no hope.
>
> I've made it plain, I think, that "[illegible] public" doesn't say all. The university [illegible] creative nuclei, must create something [illegible] phrase doesn't by itself suggest, and [illegible] which the sickness that figures as student [illegible] violence, drugs, sex-addiction, absenteeism [illegible] Lord Annan won't start to be cured. [illegible] has to answer the question, "What [illegible] something?", "creativity" is about [illegible] would be wise to say—though perhaps [illegible] might add that creativity creates significance [illegible] and reality. Certainly, if the kind of [illegible] I've been talking about got going at all [illegible] so that the country could be said to [illegible] in it, then the state commonly deplored [illegible] "lack of a sense of purpose" or "loss of [illegible] of national identity" would be on its [illegible] being remedied.
>
> Let me say at once, to separate myself [illegible] from all suggestion of enlightenment, [illegible] don't like the attitude to our imperial [illegible] that makes it merely something to be [illegible] for—I say that as the scion of a line of [illegible] Englanders. On the other hand I [illegible] sympathy with those who hanker after [illegible] "greatness". That kind of greatness belongs [illegible] to a past era, and has gone for ever out [illegible] world. That is what America has discovered [illegible] —portentous development !—in the past [illegible] years: the acquisition of unrivalled [illegible] hasn't brought, and can't in our world [illegible] greatness.
>
> And I come now, as seems to me only [illegible] before I close, to define my attitude, [illegible] think the right one, towards America. [illegible] it misleading to describe me as anti-American? [illegible] True, I'm prepared to say that we [illegible] everything we can to save this country [illegible] Americanization: it's horrible to think of [illegible] being, what it is rapidly becoming, [illegible] province of the American world. But [illegible] Americans who agree with me, and I think [illegible] they and their like (of whom there are [illegible] good many) are the truest friends of America. [illegible] I don't confidently expect them to appreciate [illegible] unanimity when I say that hope of [illegible] for America depends upon our [illegible] creative battle here, where we can [illegible] and wage it, and resolve to win [illegible] but some of them might. If this sounds [illegible] ing and unrealistic, let me say that I'm [illegible] indifferent to the question of power, [illegible] than I am hostile to the existence of [illegible] and governments. And that America [illegible] less strong than Russia seems to me [illegible] a matter for self-congratulation on [illegible] When I ask what hope there is for [illegible] in Russia, I turn cold. If this country [illegible] generate in a decisive way the kind of [illegible] effort I have described as especially [illegible] that would be its true greatness [illegible] reaffirmed—perpetuated by renewal [illegible] of the modern world, and nowhere [illegible] receive more heartening recognition [illegible] America. Of that we can be sure. [illegible]

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Whips and medals

CECIL KING: *Strictly Personal.* 232pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2 5s.

The top communicators grow telegraphone tongues that must find it hard to achieve the intimate tone of voice demanded by autobiography. Mr. Cecil King goes hard, and the result is as baffling as it is chilling. *Strictly Personal* ought by rights to add up to a massive comedy of the modern power world. Public assurance is combined with a frankly acknowledged personal insecurity, so that we seem to have a grandee of our time weighed down by golden shoulder-chips. But laughter is not invited, though it is occasionally achieved, and when that happens it tends to be sick.

The cult of telling all—and this is another potential comic element—can still leave so much unrevealed. Except, of course, the facts. The biographers have been short on these concerning Lord Northcliffe's sex life, and Mr. King conscientiously fills them in without, we can't help but feel, adding much to our essential knowledge of the man. Cecil was Northcliffe's favourite nephew, and Northcliffe was the eldest of fourteen Harmsworth children. "Of these, eleven grew up. This was a great burden for my grandmother, who did not like children. My mother was much the same."

One of the curiosities of this book is the contrast between Mr. King's icy attitude to his family and the charming pictures of his childhood he has chosen to include in it. We see the little King wearing his party frock, taking his first walk in what looks like a vast solar topee, merrily driving in the nursery donkey cart. We are not meant to be deceived for long. He sets out to show us the deprivations hidden behind the smiles of that supposedly happy and privileged childhood. He insists that he lacked love, if not money, and now has no dividends of affection to return. Of those eleven surviving Harmsworths, five grew rich, two immensely so. "My uncles had made so much money that I felt I must see whether I could do so too." He could.

But money was not enough, and Mr King soon found himself deep in the quest for professional power and in the struggle with the temperament which was his true heritage. The pages where he puts himself on the analyst's couch are the most interesting and the most baffling. His lack of social and money snobbery in their more obvious forms is in itself nothing remarkable. That is commonplace these days among the eminent; indeed, not to have it would be eccentric. It has nothing to do with modesty. In Mr. King's case there is an elaborate display of humility which, if we could be sure it was accurate, would be quite the most significant aspect of his book. Yet it is hard to get to grips with. Every self-deprecating claim is offset by a counterclaim. He tells us that he always saw himself as a "second rate intellectual" but came to discover that he had strong intuitive powers.

At the same time he confesses that when he talks to people he never knows what they are thinking. And his book indicates that he lacks any real aptitude for presenting personality, least of all when trying to describe those most close to him. He tells us that he was his mother's favourite child, adding in the next breath that she took no interest in him. "She was no mother to her children and no wife to her husband." Nor, for all her high intelligence, beauty and force of character, did she "achieve anything at all outside the family circle either". At least he gives her the benefit of the doubt about being lesbian.

Is it the second-class intellect or the first-class intuition that makes him so censorious? He is ruthlessly impartial with the lash he cracks around the world. It is not just his family; few, great or small, escape whipping. Winston Churchill was wildly overpraised and the most self-centred man Mr. King ever knew. Attlee's capability was purely negative. Gaitskell was an awkward customer who began by facing the wrong way over Suez. "So, Mr. King apparently forgets, did the *Daily Mirror* before taking the brave stand that lost it a lot of readers.) Gandhi was "a very unimpressive man to meet, small, ugly and insignificant". John Kennedy was a "compulsive womanizer" though with the makings of greatness. Robert Kennedy "a little man in a hurry". True, the Americans on the whole come off better than the Brutish, with a bronze medal for Nixon ("certainly not a great man, but . . . highly intelligent, immensely hard-working, exceedingly well-informed").

It is affecting to find that the only unqualified praise on the home front goes to his old *Mirror* colleague Hugh Cudlipp, whom Mr. King hails as the best popular newspaper editor of his day and a one-man repository of all the journalistic virtues. Mr. Cudlipp, it seems, has another advantage. "He has picked up from me a habit of looking ahead which, once acquired, cannot be forgotten."

But it turns out there are others Cecil King can tolerate. He is knowledgeable about Africans and, wonderful to relate, likes them. Or is it so surprising? Mr. Anthony Sampson once quoted him as saying, "I identify myself with the underdog . . . I can't think why." Well, now he has been thinking and comes up with some clues. He maintains that an inferiority complex was systematically established in him by his family, so that even today he claims to be astonished when anything he is responsible for turns out right.

He managed the extraordinary double of being both head boy of his school and unhappy at home. He resolved to make an early resolve [illegible] he destroyed" by his mother. Winchester trained him in self-reliance and personal escape mechanisms. He insists with great seriousness that he learned to become invisible, a remarkable feat indeed for a man six feet four who has always also confesses, found going up to life "like walking in thick treacle up to your neck".

Now, with mediocrity all around us, he looks for a spiritual saviour. "The most conspicuous case in point of great spiritual qualities in our own day has been Hitler." A startling sentence. If it means what it seems to mean, the heavy chill that many readers will feel as they embark on these strange confessions will be intensified as they come to realize that the whole book is written in the shadow of Hitler. Cecil King's life was illumined by courage [illegible] few? The conventional, one-dimensional statesman—and he deserves the word—by airing the possibility of a negotiated peace with the Germans in 1917 invited and received the scorn of his old comrades, the vituperation of the Harmsworth brethren and possibly the worst of all—the pity [illegible] of the pacifists.

The most original of the essays is Mr. Barker's study of Mrs. Pankhurst. He shows how it was essential for her nature to be dominated and that it in fact was—first by her father, then by a French schoolmistress and later by her remarkable daughter, Cristabel. Though agreeing with this, readers may find it difficult to reconcile Mr. Barker's argument with his conclusion that at the height of the suffrage campaign Mrs. Pankhurst became a demonic dominatrix a demon?

Joined by chance

DUDLEY BARKER: *Prominent Edwardians.* 254pp. Allen and Unwin. £2 5s.

The four essays in *Prominent Edwardians*, written with liveliness and recurring irreverence, might be likened to the stars of a rocket; they are joined by chance in time but emerge for their moment of glory, disconnected and distinct. Mr. Barker makes a respectful bow in the direction of Lytton Strachey, but Strachey's essays on the Victorians had visible in each character a common sense of high purpose which lent unity to the whole. Whether Mr. Barker might have found a connecting theme by digging rather deeper in the period is possible. He might, for instance, have glanced at the symposium *Edwardian England*, published in 1964, and especially at the chapters by Professor Asa Briggs and Miss Margharita Laski.

We might perhaps be justified in arguing that the four characters—prominent in life as each was—yet shuffled off the stage in bleak despair. Was that possibly characteristic of the Edwardians? While the "happy quest" of Matthew Arnold's Thyrsis may have been sufficient satisfaction for the Victorians it could be argued that the Edwardians expected the quest to lead to some achievement at once tangible and material.

With Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Barker would not seem to have been at ease. He has depended almost entirely on Lord Newton's biography, which he has distilled, adding from time to time a dash of vinegar. His essay wanders off at the finish with the weight of the last fish caught by Lansdowne, but surely the close of his life

Mess observation

MARTIN GILBERT (Editor): *Lloyd George: Great Lives Observed.* 182pp. Prentice-Hall. £2 10s.

Lloyd George is peculiarly suited for the treatment of the "Great Lives Observed" series, in which famous men speak for themselves, are assessed by their contemporaries and judged by writers on behalf of subsequent history. His character was so diverse that, like the Cullinan diamond, we can best see what he was really like through the eyes of those who knew him at the height of his brilliance before he was cut to fashion by time and the fancy of a later generation of historians. By his immediate successors in politics he was no doubt undervalued; they had no real understanding of what Lloyd George meant to his immediate colleagues and especially to Churchill. When Churchill wished him included in his government of 1940 he was supposed to have said to the members of his government: "One hour of the Right Honourable Gentleman's time is worth a full working day of anyone I see round this table."

Two things maul Lloyd George's reputation today—the Lloyd George fund and his supposed seizure of power in 1916. Mr. Gilbert in his introduction adopts the conventional (though superficial) view of the fund. No doubt it will one day receive serious historical attention; at the moment it rests too insecurely on anecdotes about the sale of peerages and the intervention of that melancholy scoundrel, Maundy Gregory. The funds collected by the Coalition Government were divided between the Conservative Party (though courage is needed to remind ourselves of this fact) and the Coalition Liberal Party. When the Coalition Liberals virtually merged with the Liberal Party they did not—to use a phrase of the first Lord Stansgate—bring the golden calf with them. That remained with their prophet and leader. But there is this to be said in justice to Lloyd George. There was a world of difference between the Coalition Liberals (fanatically anti-socialist) who had garnered the fund and the Liberal Party of the early 1920s (flirting with socialism) who wished to spend it. How would the contributors to the fund have viewed this? Moreover, some part of the money—a benefaction from the first Lord Astor is in point here—was personal to Lloyd George in gratitude for his war leadership and to strengthen the redoubts against socialism.

The most provocative part of the book is the chapter by Mr. Cameron Hazlehurst. This is a previously unpublished lecture, delivered at Nuffield College, and no doubt the author will later trim up one or two passages—notably the sneer that in 1916 Asquith was more dependent than ever on the "comforts" of alcohol. But Mr. Hazlehurst is unquestionably correct in suggesting that the essential ingredient in Asquith's fall was his own reluctance to go on. He also suggests, and again correctly, that this was in part a tired reaction to Lloyd George's "insatiable power lust". Mr. Hazlehurst also carries conviction when he argues that far too much has been made by historians of the "clash" of personalities and the general whiff of the Borgias. Although this chapter may carry conviction that too much has been made of the "conspiracy myth" it does not follow that intrigue was absent; we have to take into account that Asquith at the time, and his colleagues and followers long after his death, were convinced that Lloyd George forced his way into Downing Street over the bodies of his chief and comrades. Such convictions, which were so widely held, rest on something more than imagination.

Unfinished

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK: *Combats inachevés.* 315pp. Paris: Fayard. 22fr.

Paul-Henri Spaak became Foreign Minister of Belgium for the first time in 1936, and relinquished the post for the last time more than thirty years later. In between he held other important posts of a more international character. President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, Secretary-General of Nato; besides holding office more than once as Prime Minister. His career is one of outstanding interest to British students of international politics for more than one reason: because of the permanent importance of Belgium to the defence of our islands, because of the historic era spanned by his active life, and because of the influential role he has played in shaping the international institutions to which Britain belongs. *Combats inachevés* is the first of two volumes; it comprises his autobiography from 1936 to 1955, but the arrangement is not rigidly chronological. For example, some later events (including the Suez crisis of 1956) are included here, and it is clear from the table of contents that the second volume will revert to some earlier events, such as the Marshall Plan.

Undoubtedly these memoirs make a valuable contribution to contemporary history. They give much new information about events in which M. Spaak played a major part; and they are written with commendable frankness, but without rancour. For the professional historian, his account of the evolution of various international bodies, beginning with Benelux (first mooted in London in 1941), will have special importance. Even more interesting to British readers will be his examination of the difficult relationship between the Belgian king and his ministers before, during and after the German invasion in 1940. M. Spaak is not, of course, [illegible] interested witness, but he is a convincing one. He makes an overwhelming case for convicting the King of being incapable of understanding the principles of constitutional monarchy, both in asserting the royal prerogative over foreign policy and in concealing from his ministers some of his communications with foreign states. The king's conduct during the German occupation, though far from admirable, turns out to be less blameworthy than his earlier behaviour.

There is a marked contrast between the severity of M. Spaak's criticisms of King Leopold and his entourage and the generosity of his personal comments on most of his colleagues and foreign contemporaries. Naturally an exception must be made for the German Ambassador who came to inform him of Hitler's "inventive action" in 1940, and was met by the thunderous exclamation "Moi d'abord!" There were sharp brushes on a lesser scale with French ministers after the surrender and with President Roosevelt in the war. For his other colleagues, however, M. Spaak has unstinted admiration, especially for Churchill and Truman; and his respect for Anthony Eden is carried even to the point of arguing that the operation against Egypt in 1956 was "justified by the unquestionable violation of the Treaty of 1888", though unfortunately carried out with an incompetence on which "I would prefer to say no more".

He also leaves no doubt whatever that he was on when, as President of the first U.N. Assembly, he had to witness the conflicts between East and West, culminating in the threat by the New Zealand delegate to "push the Russians that lie back down Greenwich throat", or words to that effect.

M. Spaak's autobiography is written wittily and lucidly written and full of valuable information. It is much to be hoped that the publication of the second volume will not be followed by an English edition of the whole work.

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Lost bearings

[illegible] JACKSON: *Come Along With Me.* Edited by Stanley Edgar Hyman. 243pp. Michael Joseph. 30s.

Shirley Jackson's most famous story was "The Lottery", which appeared in *The New Yorker* in 1948 provoked profuse and angry correspondence at the time. This and other well known stories are published in *Come Along With Me*, a collection of Miss Jackson's work published after her death in 1965 by her husband, Stanley Edgar Hyman. It includes unpublished stories, an unfinished novel and three short lectures on writing. These, which offer brisk instruction to beginners about the mysteries of story-telling, could give the impression that Shirley Jackson considered herself nothing more than a competently writer, too well geared to the *New Yorker* style to flourish outside its covers. Her comic stories about the absurdities and terrors of family life, usually her own, certainly close to fitting such a description, though they are marked, in her work is, by a cunning and an [illegible] excess quite outside the scope of the lecturer's modest account of her own writing.

Most of the stories, though, are quite different. They are dream-like, terrifying, memorable, with characters who lose their bearings; their homes, their names or their identities, and are sent off on explorations of their phantoms selves and rarely allowed to return. In one of her lectures Miss Jackson advises her listeners to keep their fictional characters consistent, for "a character who breaks out of a pattern is shocking and generally insane". Something very like this happens in all the best stories here. A girl leaves home on the day of her sister's wedding. When she returns four years later her family do not recognize her, they regard her as an impostor. She accepts this as the reader does, for she *is* by now an impostor. Wives leave home to find themselves, to experiment with freedom, only to discover there is no way home, the house is gone and the self that went with it. Houses and homes are a particular obsession, strange and hypnotic in themselves, they have special powers to assist or break their inhabitants' sense of reality.

Some of Miss Jackson's characters "dabble in the supernatural"; so does she, but it is the supernatural of dreams, of madness and paranoia, not of magic. Dreams are prophecies of reality, fears are not so wild when they come true, as they do in the beautiful story, "The Summer People", where an elderly couple's suspicions that they are being victimized by the villagers for staying beyond the usual date in their country cottage come gradually and inevitably true. The best stories are marvellously balanced between exactly observed exteriors and the transforming terrors of their characters' interior vision.

The handling only falters in those stories—perhaps particularly in the unfinished novel whose title the volume bears—where a witty, observer's eye is seen gleaming from a mad face to give an account of insanity which is just too sweet and whimsical to match the harsh truth of the experience itself. Miss Jackson must have known what it is to see the dark side of the moon and to discover that it is the only side there is. What is impressive about these stories is that she has so skilfully manipulated such experiences into coherence and fictional life.

Three kinds of trauma

[illegible] TUCKER: *Drowning.* 188pp. [illegible] Bowers. 30s.

[illegible] DAVID: *A Part of the Main.* 190pp. Hutchinson. 25s.

[illegible] HEAD: *When Rain Clouds Gather.* 188pp. Gollancz.

Drowning two stifling marriages are sharply exposed in [illegible] ruthlessly stenographer's prose [illegible] notes for a novel and [illegible] and homosexual book reviewer, who hovers nervously on the [illegible] of both marriages, is seen to [illegible] richer, freer time of it for [illegible] able to indulge fantasies of [illegible] pleasure and perfect friendship without having to reconcile them [illegible] demands of everyday life. In [illegible] marriage the wife is driven in[illegible] because her husband refuses her [illegible] which might seal the marriage and so sever his ties with his [illegible]. The other marriage is childless, and doomed, because the husband, an obsessive and immature [illegible], cannot accept his wife as she [illegible] depends on her as a child [illegible] and alive. When they are [illegible] they blur, slide from each [illegible] breach, are unable to make the [illegible] on which their happiness [illegible] to them to depend. The divisions between what is hoped for [illegible] her friendship and what is possible [illegible] reality are sensitively caught. [illegible] novel is finally spoiled by too many [illegible] tricks but concentration on the [illegible] skills of a scene, the absence of [illegible], of comment, the swift [illegible] from what is thought to [illegible] done, make for immediacy [illegible] occasionally for real insight.

[illegible] abundance and the opportunities [illegible] Melbourne are challenges [illegible] stun, even defeat. Janina [illegible] group of young refugees [illegible] Europe and the war, wedged [illegible] are between the meagre [illegible] customs of their families and the [illegible] Australian world they feel unable [illegible] enter and explore. Anna, an [illegible] brought up to independence, [illegible] determined to manipulate her [illegible], into creative, expanding [illegible]. Her efforts are shown to be [illegible] and dangerous, an evasion [illegible] own problems and possibilities [illegible] as well as an evasion of love, [illegible] work and genuine friendship. She is a clearly seen character, [illegible] young women who is sturdy [illegible] competent, a person to [illegible], yet vulnerable because her [illegible] and her background make [illegible] anyone else an impossibility. [illegible] as secretary and interpreter [illegible] hospital brings small satisfactions [illegible] and a lover, whose feelings [illegible] her she so underestimates [illegible] he leaves her [illegible]

Rain Clouds Gather is an intelligent and moving African novel set in a village in Botswana. The area is poor, undermined by traditional subsistence farming and by the rule of two chiefs, brothers, whose personal enmity results in hardship and neglect for the villagers. Gilbert, an idealist and agricultural expert from England, has managed to introduce at least the beginning of cooperative farming and a switch to the cultivation of crops which can be sold. To the same village comes Makhaya, a political refugee from South Africa, shell-shocked by his experiences, who has barely the energy left to do more than dream of a time when Africans will be rich enough to trample the white population into extinction. Gilbert's practicality and his innocence rouse him, and the novel is about the two men's efforts to get the village women to grow enough tobacco so that their men can abandon unprofitable cattle farming.

In fact, it is an appalling drought which brings this about, an irony Gilbert exploits in the interest of his own plans and of the village, which has been disrupted by the men's absence for most of each year at distant cattle stations. The problems—agricultural, social, geographical—and the methods tried by Gilbert, who is a sort of English Dolci, to alleviate them, are described compellingly. The author's grasp is less sure in those more visionary moments, which look to some kind of Christian brotherhood, winnowed of its white associations, as the answer to Africa's larger problems and to the individual's discovery of his own dignity and powers.

No joy

STANLEY MIDDLETON: *Wages of Virtue.* 256pp. Hutchinson. 30s.

The title of Stanley Middleton's ninth novel comes from *King Lear*: "All friends shall taste the wages of their virtue." But Albany's promise comes rather too late in the play to do much good; and the hero of this novel gets little joy from his virtues—which are honesty and a determined obedience to his conscience. We follow this young Midlander's career from his schooldays to his reluctant acceptance of his embarrassing and lonely role as a conscientious objector in the Second World War. Virtue must be its own reward: the wages of sin might seem less dismal.

He is the son of a quiet man, a works foreman and amateur musician, and an assertive woman—the kind who will not compromise with authority: she calls at his school and prevents him from suffering unjust punishment. On leaving school he works as a clerk: his principal leisure activities are music-making and a chapel discussion group. He mixes with eccentric young pacifists and socialists, and takes their views from "Portnoy's complaint"—demanding ethical standards and overpowering, unsatisfied lust.

Here is one of his school-friends:

> The whole body swung alight so that the creased dress, the shabby blazer danced across her, shouted her hoyden youth, her tautly moving beauty. The neck a brown hollow, day-bright hair, scuffed shoes, wrinkle of stocking, and straight, boy, to her shoulder.

The level tone of Stanley Middleton's writing breaks into something more wild in such passages. He does not always bring it off:

> His voice rasped hoarse, drained thin of strength, dangling midway between the red beat of blood behind his eyes and the surge to brute bursting in his loins. He could not understand why he sat in this chair, why he did not melt, seethe in seminal acid, arms strung, body white-hot wires between these throbbing centres of hard lust.

Many readers will wish that he had thinned down these metaphorical passages. Certainly they convey the turmoil of adolescent desire, but they tend to jar with the gravity and precision of the rest of the narrative—since otherwise the novel offers an extraordinarily interesting and concerned account of a life which might be thought dull and dowdy.

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The logical road to pure abstraction

FRANK ELGAR: *Mondrian*. Translated by Thomas Walton. 255pp. Thames and Hudson. 35s. (Paperback, 21s.)

This is the first monograph devoted to the work of Mondrian which is both sensible, well reasoned, dispassionately critical and free of that contemporary art jargon which has hitherto surrounded it with an aura calculated to make it appear sublime and unapproachable.

Piet Mondrian was born in 1872, the son of a Calvinist schoolmaster at Amersfoort in Holland, and from this background he "inherited an austere philosophy of life". He received his first lessons in painting between the ages of fifteen and twenty from his uncle, "a professional artist and former pupil of Willem Maris". But, since his father had chosen a teacher's career for him and he knew that he wanted to be an artist, Mondrian "decided to become a drawing-master and for several years he worked hard on his own to obtain the necessary diplomas".

At that point, he refused to apply for such a job and insisted that his father allow him to go and study at the Academy of Fine Arts in Amsterdam. From then until 1908, as M. Elgar points out, Mondrian's artistic development followed uncreatively in the wake of the Barbizon painters and the Dutch naturalists, the principal influences upon him being Théodore Rousseau, Millet, Corot and Breitner. In 1901 he visited Spain but was completely unmoved by contact with the southern light and landscape; nor was the effect of a visit to England at this time any more positive. Mondrian only reacted from the start to "the light, the things and the people of his native Holland", and it was in the province of Brabant that he chose to settle and work.

Only in 1908 did Mondrian's artistic outlook begin to change. While he was still quite young, Mondrian had undergone some "crucial mystical experiences" which he was able to resolve through the discovery of theosophy. Then in 1908 he came under the influence of two other Dutch painters, Jan Toorop and Jan Sluyters, who opened his eyes to the works and theories of the French Symbolists, as well as to the more contemporary artistic developments represented by the Nabis and the Fauves. Hitherto Mondrian, working in a country where no artistic avant-garde existed, had been unaware of any aesthetic upheavals which had occurred elsewhere. He was, says M. Elgar, "unambitious" and without curiosity, so that he had been content to plod on without real inspiration in that idiom of "strictly studied, commonplace" realism which was all that he knew. All of a sudden he found in Symbolism, and in the colour theories of Seurat, the means to create on his own a form of art which would accord with his theosophical ideas. At once Mondrian began to adopt a more starkly formal, bolder and more suggestively colourful style of painting. This was the period (1908-11) of the "Haystacks", the "Mills", the "Church Towers", the "Dunes" and the "Chrysanthemums", in one of which he allowed the fading bloom to assume the form of a half-revealed human skull, symbolizing unmistakably the idea of death and decay.

This was the first step towards Mondrian's self-realization, but as soon as he had discovered this new aesthetic he knew, as he himself was to write many years later, that he "had to seek the true way alone". Temperamentally, Mondrian was neither an eclectic, who made his way by taking over and elaborating on the inventions of others, flitting from one to another, nor was he a revolutionary. His approach to the art of picture-making was cerebral and rational, so that he preferred to limit himself to a few subjects which he could work over with perseverance until he had arrived at the essential minimum of their evocative pictorial content. Thus whatever he achieved occurred progressively through the application of his own logic and determination—there is never a jump—and involved a considerable passage of time. Unlike Monet's "series" paintings, which were thought of as enriching a subject by showing it in a different light and at different times of the day and year, Mondrian's "series" represent a progressive impoverishment of an over-rich subject, enabling him to arrive at the barest statement of some real Truth.

The workings of this process can be clearly followed at the crucial turning-point of his career, through the series of "Trees" (1909-13), which at first reveal Mondrian coming to terms with the Cubist conception of painting and then show how he worked logically through it to a new language of painting which was wholly divorced from visible reality. In a matter of less than two years, Mondrian's inexorable logic led him from a structured painting of legible forms to a less and less explicitly representational form of painting, which ultimately consisted of "no more than geometric planes irregularly assembled and high-lighted by only a few bright colours".

M. Elgar devotes no more than a quarter of his text to following Mondrian up to this point, by which time he was over forty. From then on the author devotes himself to discussing the doctrine of Neo-Plasticism and Mondrian's many theoretical writings, to analysing his pictures and to sketching in a portrait of a "buttoned-up *petit bourgeois*" and a "rather crotchety old bachelor", who was solitary, reticent, taciturn and "naturally inclined to speculative thought", though he was "neither particularly well informed nor notably cultured". The resulting picture is of a dry and tiresome old duffard, but M. Elgar then goes on to make the artist seem even less attractive by adding a mass of information about the lengths to which Mondrian went to shut out life, nature and daylight from his sight, as well as to deprive himself of all sensual pleasures. Small wonder that he whittled his pictorial statements down to a bare geometric skeleton.

M. Elgar explains most intelligently how this came about and what Mondrian hoped that his later paintings would communicate. As he worked through Cubism, he increasingly took exception to its intention "to express volume", because this implied an acceptance of a three-dimensional experience of space. "Cubism therefore remained basically a naturalistic expression and was only *an abstraction*—not true abstract art", he wrote. Mondrian, on the contrary, believed implicitly at this stage that artists should concern themselves neither with objects nor with appearances, because this implied a materialistic outlook. In his view, everything essential about the world should be visually evoked through an art of "pure abstraction", to achieve which it was essential to destroy the illusion of space and volume and confine oneself to creating a mathematically calculated composition of flat, vertical planes, formed by black lines and their intersections, and enclosing a few primary colours. And for almost thirty years—that is to say, until he betrayed himself by admitting a degree of "allusive realism" and third dimension into his final New York compositions of 1941-43—Mondrian used none other than this impoverished pictorial language to communicate his personal sense of reality.

Therein lies his heroism, for thanks to his perseverance and logic he explored the possibilities of this language so thoroughly that no one need repeat the experiment. At the same time Mondrian found in this "abstract" language a convenient way to reconcile his theosophical beliefs with an art-for-art's-sake aesthetic, inherited from Symbolism, and also an ambiguous, non-descriptive formula for which he could claim, without fear of challenge, that it enabled him "to express not life itself, but a rational and universal philosophy of life". This emerges very clearly in the great theoretical manifesto with which he launched the De Stijl movement in 1917:

> What we want is a new aesthetic based on pure relationships of lines and pure colours, because only pure relationships between pure constructive elements can result in pure beauty. At the present time, not only is pure beauty for us, but it is, in our estimation, the means capable of a pure manifestation of the universal force which is found in all things. It is identical to what was revealed in the past under the name of Divinity and which is conceivable to the poor human being. Only if we are to live and achieve equilibrium, for things in themselves are opposed to us and matter in its inferior form is armed against us. It is not surprising that a mystic could thus mix rigidity of ... with an element of mystic ... should have condemned ... with his closest friend and ... artist- van Doesburg- because ... verged from the vertical and ... duced oblique lines into his ... tions.

M. Elgar, who has no doubts ... the mediocrity of Mondrian ... painter and sees much of ... as misguided, nevertheless ... grants him the importance of ... pathfinder who, by carrying ... lute abstraction" to its logical ... treme, led art "into a blind ... and then had to recognize ... had come to "the end of para... And the author sums up what ... in the paintings by saying that ... can see in them the idea made ... tion and be fascinated by their ... silence". It seems a poor ... reward for a lifetime of ... theorizing and intransigent ... tion of a coenobitic doctrine, ... is not tempted to dispute this ...

M. Elgar's text has been ... translated by Thomas Walton ... the volume is comprehensively ... trated with forty-one colour ... and 167 in black-and-white.

King of the snapshot

LAMBERTO VITALI: *Un fotografo fin de siècle*. 313pp. Turin: Einaudi. L.6,500.

On January 19 the *TLS* reproduced a beautiful and curious photograph of 1889 which showed Degas, top hat on his head and a *mégot* drooping from his mouth, buttoning himself up outside a Paris public lavatory. It was taken by Count Giuseppe Primoli, a favourite nephew of the Princesse Mathilde Bonaparte, who died in Paris in 1927 leaving some 12,500 negatives, taken mostly with an 8 x 9 cm. reflex camera called a Kinégraphe. Like Lartigue a decade or so later, Primoli was a passionate amateur in an art which was new enough for the amateur to contribute something quite distinctive but not, like the other new arts of cinematography and television which were to succeed it, so impossibly expensive as to keep the amateur out. Half a century before Cartier-Bresson, he anticipated that master in his eye for the telling moment, the odd grouping, the reflection of an event in the faces of unimportant bystanders. Though he seems to have been curiously blind to the interest of Degas's own painting, he could draw the photographic lesson from the angles and perspectives of the *Heures du Duc de Berry*. A contemporary critic called him and his brother Luigi, another addict, the *re dell' instantanea*, kings of the snapshot.

In *Un fotografo fin de siècle*, Signore Lamberto Vitali has given us a brilliant selection of his work, in a compact square volume which is not so much an album as a book of photographic memoirs. Where Lartigue was born into a particular intimacy with the development of new technologies such as the aeroplane and the motor car—which determines the flavour of his images—Primoli moved between the smart social worlds of Rome and Paris and the more obviously "distinguished" element of literary and theatrical life in both countries; very much the people who frequented his aunt. Here, accordingly, are races and hunts, military manoeuvres and fashionable weddings, interspersed with such scenes as Réjane having a jolly lunch party, Edison and his wife visiting the Eiffel Tower, Jacques-Émile Blanche painting one of the Hérédia girls, or Maupassant rowing Dumas's daughter and Bizet's widow in a dinghy called Madame. The Empress Eugénie prays alone in her chapel on Farnborough Hill, Jérôme Bonaparte poses for a marvellous set-piece portrait, Forain flirts with a pupil through a long, gay sequence, Leo XIII walks in the Vatican Gardens with a stick, Duse stands on a grey day in a gondola looking like a widowed peasant.

Then there are the backgrounds, both physical and social: the Michelangelo Pietà in its old place in the Rondanini palace, the Forum flooded, galley prisoners leaving Naples, emigrants with their bundles at Milan station, a May Day demonstration of 1891, a group of Rome carabinieri lurking under the command of a bowler-hatted detective. Possibly Signor Vitali goes too far in suggesting that Primoli's eye for such scenes, or for the beggars and street women who figure in many of the pictures, was that of a conscious social commentator; they may have been photographed as interesting curiosities, like the Negro Village at the 1889 Paris Exhibition, while the crowd stares through the lens as a solitary large black woman, generally the contribution of ... and publisher could not be ... The introduction is scholarly and ... formative; the notes to the ... contain many interesting quot... from Primoli's own (partly ... lished) Journals including ... characterizations of Edmond de ... court as "La Veuve" and "le ... posthume des Goncourt"—and ... other relevant sources; the ... graphs themselves are finely ... without masking or trim... and in most cases from freshly ... prints. It is altogether a remar... book.

Generalizations

ROY MCMULLEN: *Art, Affluence, and Alienation*. 272pp. Pall Mall Press. 40s.

DEREK CLIFFORD: *Art and Understanding*. 168pp. Evelyn Adams and Mackay. £3 15s.

Art, Affluence, and Alienation provides a grand tour of the cultural scene. Mr. McMullen's expertise acknowledges few bounds; we find him almost regretting having to exclude cooking from his survey "on the usual grounds that taste and smell are aesthetically inferior to sight and sound", as also the "fine" arts of "costume-design, travel[ling] [*sic*], and even conversation"; "fine" being here defined as "any creative, useless" activity which is aimed primarily at giving us a vision of our own humanity".

The author sketches out the modern evolution of the various arts, attempts what he describes as "the preliminary situating of issues" and generalizes about their meaning, wider significance, implications for the future, &c.

There can be little doubt that he is well steeped in the arts and by no means only in the modern arts. The names, the quotes, the theories, the quips are all there. But any attempt to follow his meandering trains of thought is quite exasperating. Mr. McMullen claims to offer a perspective of modernism in the arts, but the picture that emerges is so vaporous that one ... whether he himself has much ... what the various trends amount ...

Certainly his boldness in ... so vast a field and his scrup... avoidance of hastily drawn ... and conclusions are highly comm... able; there is lacking only that ... siveness of mind, that ... bent which ruthlessly sifts ... tant questions from the unimpo... without which any book on this ... ject will only further the confu... it sets out to curb.

It should be noted that the ... was prepared as one of the "... nica Perspectives", commis... to commemorate the two hundr... anniversary of the *Encyclop... Britannica*. Since 1963 ... McMullen has been a "consu... on the fine arts" for the ency... pedia.

Art and Understanding is a ... more successful essay, though ... Clifford is here on equally ... ground—that of "taste" in the ... arts. He has thought deeply ... sensitively about the difficult ... tic problems he sets himself ... although tinged by a markedly ... cal disposition towards Art, his ... course is instructive and frequ... illuminating. Well-read in ... aesthetic theory and able to ... modern physiological and ... logical perception theory, ... Clifford chooses an approach ... cursive and reflective ... scholarly.

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هكذا في الأصل

Parables of never-never land

...Ibbotson: *The Cultural Revolution in China*. 151pp. Penguin. 5s.

...Robinson, Professor of Economics at Cambridge and a fairly frequent visitor to China, sets out in this little book to give the Chinese view of what the Cultural Revolution is all about. She is obviously convinced that the image of a disinterested and irrational leadership often drawn, particularly in the popular press, is a distorted picture of a movement which is vitally important to the future of China and which has had surprising repercussions in other parts of the world. The central and most interesting part of the book is an account of the Cultural Revolution given to Professor Robinson by a Shanghai official in November, 1967—that is, about half way between the beginning of the campaign and the present. As she points out, the account was obviously carefully prepared. It is, nevertheless, an accurate summary of what had occurred up to that point in parable, with all the didactic emphasis and about as much historical value as most parables. Translated into parabolic language, the familiar sequence of successive attacks by the "evil ones" (in the guise first of ordinary bourgeoisie, then of Liu Shao-chi and, finally, of "capitalist roaders" in the Party itself), The Great Helmsman, good, alerted by the vigilant Chiang Ching (Mao's wife), try to help the people struck with hard literary blows. But these pernicious influences are frustrated by the fiendish cunning of Chen, in his dragon's lair of the Premier's office in Peking, but ... his intrigues and alert the people to the revisionist peril. The ... people begin to rise in ... wave of righteousness but, while ... good leader, Chairman Mao, is ... from Peking, the wicked witch ... Chiang (whose name is itself a force for evil that he must be ... rid of by the alias "top Party ... who is taking the capitalist road"), ... from behind his back and oppresses the people. Returning full of righteous anger, the good Chairman waves the magic wand of his own large-character poster, "Bombard the headquarters", shows up the forces of evil for what they are and leads the Chinese people out of the darkness into the light. One could go on in the same vein and, although the story ends before the battle is over, the last chapter must surely describe the good Chairman leading his faithful people into a glowing red sunset with the promise of a newer, brighter dawn.

Despite its propaganda overtones, the Shanghai story is valuable. It is, after all, an official account of the Cultural Revolution and one which is easy to read. Even if no official history could be expected to be an unbiased version of all that has happened, the way in which the facts are selected and presented is itself significant and this account has at least half a dozen points of detail which have not appeared elsewhere.

Equally useful and well presented are a selection of documents which include the "Sixteen Points" of August, 1966 (having down the guidelines of the Cultural Revolution), the text of Mao's own poster attack on the "capitalist roaders" and the May 16, 1966, Central Committee document attacking Peng Chen for his attempts to divert the Cultural Revolution into the harmless channels of literary criticism. Professor Robinson rightly points out the importance of this last document, but wrongly states that "it allowed the Chinese people to know that the views of Chairman Mao were being flouted ...". In fact, it was available only to those on the Party distribution list, though others doubtless picked up rumours of its existence. The document was not published openly until a year later, in May, 1967. It was probably this very secrecy in the distribution of important policy documents which caused some of the confusion in the Cultural Revolution. There were plenty of people willing to agree with the Party line (or rather Chairman Mao's line, since the two were at odds and the latter looked the most likely victor) but many also who had no clear idea what the line was.

The documents are rounded off with some editorials and messages concerning the "take-over of power" in Shanghai early in 1967 which, though of some interest as examples of the language in which political problems are expressed in the official press, are unlikely to make inspiring reading for the non-expert. The expert should not be beguiled by the publisher's blurb ("... key documents which have never before been published in the West ...") into thinking he will find anything new. All have been readily available in the *Peking Review* and New China News Agency releases. Some conversations with workers and Red Guards are indeed new but, in spite of the author's claim that "the atmosphere is frank and open", they are remarkably stylized and no more than further mini-parables.

All this is good clean Chinese fun. To it Professor Robinson adds her own introduction, giving her view of what the Cultural Revolution is all about; very much what the Chinese official line says it is all about, so it appears. Some of the background and explanation of terms used by the Chinese is valuable, but there is a "never-never land" feel about the whole approach.

What is one to make, for instance, of the argument that "the patriotism of the Chinese, which is very deep, is so completely fired with socialist ideology that they do not notice that there is a national element in it ... Trained to distinguish between the people of a country and the Government, they are unaware that *Russian* feelings are wounded by diatribes against Soviet revisionism. Thus they make enemies for themselves out of pure good will"? Blind to the effect of their actions they may be, but "pure good will" is stretching it rather too far.

And is the burning of the British Mission to be explained by the fact that the Chinese authorities were in a dilemma because, while diplomatic etiquette demanded that it should be prevented, by force if necessary, the ethos of the Cultural Revolution was to let the youngsters be free to make their own mistakes so they let them "shout in public and gave them a dressing down in private"? One seems to be in the atmosphere of a bucolic bump supper with kindly and understanding dons letting the young men have their fling before putting the breakages on battels next morning. But the Chinese are not a nation of high-spirited but good-natured undergraduates and their leaders have matured not by drinking common-room port, but by fighting and privation.

Perhaps one should expect, and therefore excuse, the way in which everything is suffused with a gentle rosy light. It is still disappointing that Professor Robinson does not tell us more about the reasons for a Cultural Revolutionary upheaval. Surely there are economic problems to be faced with room for alternative solutions which could cause different leaders to line up on different sides? Surely also the Cultural Revolution, and China itself, is more complex and more human than suggested by a straightforward struggle between the blacks and whites of good and evil? It is unfortunate that Professor Robinson does not go further into this sort of question, for the Chinese official sources (however valuable) cannot be expected to elucidate such points any more than a British party political programme could be expected to give a balanced view on the achievements of its opponents.

In spite of all these strictures, *The Cultural Revolution in China* is a useful collection of source material, and Professor Robinson has done a service to all those interested in China, or revolution from on high, by assembling these materials in an accessible, readable and inexpensive form. Those who want to know the official line on The Cultural Revolution and have not the time to read through the *Peking Review* &c. would be well advised to start, but not (one hopes) finish, here.

Uncommon market

...D. WILES: *Communist International Economics*. 566pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £4 4s.

...Wiles rightly calls his book ...*Communist International Economics* ...*Communist International* ... It deals with services, aid and ...national planning as well as ...trade, and with the theory of ...national economic activities as ...with its practice. No general ...these important topics ...seriously existed. Professor ... is easily able to show the limi... relevance to his problem of ...Marxist and Western economics. ...assigns one traditional Marxist ...of international trade, which ...flat exploitation and "non-... exchange" were involved ...when an underdeveloped country ...received less for each labour-... embodied in one of its own ...than for each labour-hour ...used in the products of an ...equal country. While this naive ...notion of the labour theory of ...has long been rejected by other ...writers, it has not been replaced ...by any systematic new doctrine. Professor Wiles is also a little contemptuous of the approach of the ...typical Western economist, with ...his concealed preconception that ...international trade should be treated ...in the same way as trade between individual firms in ...which the two states concerned play ...a passive role. This is an approach ...of limited value in considering trade ...between Western countries, and quite ...inappropriate for the international ...economics of centrally planned countries. Professor Wiles bases his own ...analysis on the realistic assumption ...that Soviet-type economies on the ...whole behave like giant firms which ...trade with each other, and with market economies, on mainly capitalist ...principles.

...From this basis ... conclusions follow and can be broadly confirmed by practical experience; notably that direct controls enable balance of payments crises to be much less frequent and severe in communist than in market economies. Logically enough Professor Wiles argues that recent trends to decentralization are likely to *increase* the danger of crises due to international trade; he shows convincingly that the Czechoslovak economic crisis of 1962 to 1963 was due not to Stalinist overcentralization but rather to "the partial decentralization of 1958, bad luck, and the policy errors of the authorities".

However, all is not well with communist international economic relations. Professor Wiles confirms conclusions already reached by Mr. Michael Kaser and Dr. Frederic Pryor in their studies of Comecon, properly referred to by Professor Wiles, as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.). Centrally planned states are jealous of their sovereignty; economic collaboration is at least as difficult within C.M.E.A. as within the Common Market. The inheritance of the past is still strong:

> The paradox of the C.M.E.A. is that under Stalin the U.S.S.R. had the power but not the will, to impose any degree of economic unity short of outright annexation; while under Khrushchev it had the will but not the power.

Since Professor Wiles completed his book, the recent C.M.E.A. session in Berlin reported some significant, if small, steps forward—including agreement in principle to follow up the supranational metals agency Intermetall discussed by Professor Wiles by an authority to coordinate the chemical industry Interkhim. His general conclusion that "the C.M.E.A. is still far less supranational than the Common Market" nevertheless remains entirely valid.

Professor Wiles is an unique ... that integration and specialization on a country-by-country basis should not in any case necessarily be encouraged in centrally planned economies; with no free market to determine the degree of specialization, improved efficiency may not result. He does, however, object to policies of national industrial independence based on the "technological snobbery" characteristic of communist ideology. In this context he dismisses rather curtly such economic heresies of developing countries as their wish to build up their own engineering industry—this merely wastes resources that could have been better spent on imported machinery. A tendency to prefer "rationality", the economist's term for the efficient allocation of existing resources, to long-term growth seems to be lurking here; but as a rule Professor Wiles's personal idiosyncrasies are not permitted to protrude too much. The provocative expression of opinion is certainly a luxury to which he is fully entitled, for throughout this wide-ranging and thoughtful study analysis is supported by a wealth of practical evidence which does much to illuminate the international economic activity of communist countries.

Double-look

STOWERS JOHNSON: *The Two Faces of Russia*. 240pp. Robert Hale. 30s.

In an engagingly written book Mr. Johnson contrasts the Soviet Union that he saw as an officially invited delegate and the Soviet Union he found as a solitary traveller. The differences were indeed great: as a solitary traveller with his bed-equipped car he was spied on, harried, marched off to a police station. But in point of fact he brought some of this on himself. He disobeyed the travel rules in the Soviet Union which allow visiting tourists to stop only at certain fixed points and set those points so far apart that each day's drive is a headlong rush. Mr. Johnson stopped more frequently and sometimes went off the prescribed routes.

He was not too badly treated by the police, who were suspicious and often sullen but reasonably polite. What emerges most strikingly is not the ... in the way he himself was treated but the differences between his attitude to authority and the ordinary Russians' attitude. The Russians were extremely careful to toe the line.

Mr. Johnson's story is well told. He is entertaining about the activities of pro-Soviet groupings in Britain. His account of the mishaps and hazards which he encountered on Russian roads would give valuable hints to anyone thinking of following in his tracks. The traveller must be ready to face scores of inquisitive Russians, it would seem:

> There must have been 2,000 to 3,000 Russians in that camp, penned together like cattle in tents, cars, chalets, and huts. And I was tired. It was now dark. I could not answer everybody's questions all night.

He had rather more than his share of engine trouble, probably brought on by the hard runs between widely spaced camps. Touring in Russia will improve, evidently, when the stages for each day are shortened, camps are made more plentiful, and deviationism is not automatically suspect.

Russia: Hopes and Fears
Alexander Werth
The last book by the greatest of all Russian war correspondents, completed shortly before his death last month. Written as a companion volume to his classic *Russia at War*, Werth reports on the conditions and changes in the first 50 years of the Soviet Union. Completed shortly after the invasion of Prague, the last chapter tries to strike a balance between hope and fear. 60s.
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Words Music and the Church
Erik Routley
In this lively book, based on the author's lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary, new force is given to his view that worship in the church should be drama. He insists that church music needs to find its place within the world of music in general. "If public worship as we know it cannot accommodate folk singing, then we ought to consider altering it so that it can." 30s.
Herbert Jenkins

The theoretician of Russian Acmeism

NIKOLAI GUMILEV: *Sobranie sochinenii.* Vol. 1: 350pp. $5. Vol. 2: 379pp. $5. Vol. 3: 360pp. $5. Vol. 4: 654pp. $8. Edited by G. P. Struve and B. A. Filippov. Washington: Victor Kamkin.

With the appearance of the final volume of Gumilev, the ambitious project of collecting the works of the three major poets of Russian Acmeism takes an important step forwards. It is fitting that Gumilev should be the first to be completed, because as the leading theoretician he occupies the central position in the movement, even if as a poet he has since been overshadowed by his colleagues, Anna Akhmatova, his first wife, and his friend Osip Mandelshtam.

Gumilev's fame has inevitably been affected by his death at the height of his powers: he was accused of participating in the Tagantsev conspiracy, and, in spite of Gorky's intercession, executed by a Cheka firing-squad. The extent of Gumilev's implication in this plot is still not known, but the story is gratefully accepted both inside and outside Russia: for the Russian authorities it has served as a pretext for not republishing his works (only in recent years have a few of his poems been allowed into print): while his admirers in the West have been presented not just with a poet, but with a martyr. And so far there has been little incentive or opportunity to re-examine the evidence.

The story is an instructive one; for it brings out the difficulty of establishing the facts about so much of Gumilev's life. These difficulties are increased by the fact that we have very few of Gumilev's notebooks or letters. No doubt there are more documents in the Russian archives, but these are as yet inaccessible. Still less can we deduce Gumilev's life from his poetry; dates, of even the most approximate kind, are rarely appended to his works. Even his love-poems were sometimes presented to more than one girl, with such trivia as the colour of the hair changed, where necessary, to fit the new situation. Nor can one gather much about Gumilev's beliefs, beyond a fairly conventional Orthodoxy, patriotism, &c. To judge from the evidence of his works, he seems to have scorned specifically Russian themes. He loved travelling, and he wrote more poems about foreign countries, notably Africa (which he visited three times), than about his own. Of his thirteen stories, only two are set in Russia, and not a single one of his six plays.

Even more elusive than the facts of Gumilev's life is the question of his personality. For many years he was occupied in the construction of a persona which would bear little relationship to his real character. He was afflicted not merely by the usual difficulty of discovering his own individuality, but by the more serious one of trying to reject it when he did discover it. It appears that the name Gumilev is derived from the Latin *humilis* and was originally pronounced Gúmilev; the pronunciation Gumilyóv seems to have been devised by the poet while still a schoolboy, as an act of self-assertion, a deliberate rejection of the humble associations of his name. Apparently, the boy would weep with rage when addressed as Gúmilev. The picture that Gumilev tries to give of himself in his poetry as an intrepid explorer, a fearless warrior and an irresistible lover may perhaps also be seen as an affirmation of Gumilyóv at the expense of Gúmilev.

In much the same way, even the business of becoming a poet seems to have been only another exercise in will-power: Makovsky said that he had never met a poet more obsessed with poetry. Characteristically, Gumilev attempted to achieve his ends by sheer hard work and technical mastery. It was to this end that he experimented with complex forms, not just the sonnet and the ballade, but also such exotica as the *tanka*, the *gazella*, and the *pantun*; and the rhyming schemes of several of his poems are of extraordinary complexity. This determination to make himself a poet led him naturally to the craftsman ideals of Acmeism, and to the firm belief that poets can be made; but these too may be aspects of Gumilev's persona, and are not necessarily to be attached to the man behind the mask.

It is undeniable that Gumilev's work shows a fairly steady growth in mastery throughout his short life. But the development revealed in his later poems is so colossal and finally takes such an unexpected direction that they appear as a totally unrelated and miraculous new flowering. His early poems are helplessly imitative: the themes, the imagery, the rhythms are all clichés. A group of poems in his first book is headed "Swords and Kisses", while his second book was entitled *Romantic Flowers*: the titles of individual poems too are frequently inept. Everything is so obvious and clumsy that it is easy to overlook the word "strange"; although nothing is particularly strange here, this word does strike a different note, and foreshadows, however feebly, the grotesque and mystical elements of the later books. The strange and the inexplicable take several forms, sometimes that of nightmares (a convention that Gumilev was later to exploit with great originality), but more revealingly in an unexpected turn of association. Thus the famous cycle "Sea-Captains", after hymning the usual manly (or at least schoolboyish) virtues of gallantry, elegance, and effortless superiority, suddenly switches to the Flying Dutchman, a very different subject. The focus is suddenly blurred, rendering the cycle less satisfactory as a whole, but much more tantalizing. Admittedly, the effect is not always deliberate, but that only serves to confirm one's impression that a different Gumilev is trying to get out from behind the mask.

The peak of Gumilev's early poetry is his fourth book, *Foreign Skies* (1912). It is generally considered the most "Acmeist" of his books; it is also the one in which the mask is sustained most successfully. For various reasons Gumilev never quite regained this control over himself again. The break-up of his marriage to Anna Akhmatova in 1913 was a deep personal tragedy for him. It is one of the few events of his private life that penetrates into his poetry, notably in the poem "Iambic Pentameters". Interestingly, the poem has two endings. In the original version of 1913, Gumilev seems to find relief from his unhappiness and humiliation in poetry, or at least in his hopes for the Acmeist movement; but two years later he omitted these lines and looked for salvation in the mystique of military service; he had volunteered immediately after the outbreak of war.

As so often, his answer to personal problems which confronted him with his real self was to run away into some kind of physical action, and the ecstatic poems which he wrote about the First World War are the more odious for being so obviously escapist. In the poem "Ezbekiye", we learn that even the trips to Africa were originally motivated by an emotional crisis. It is ironic that the poetry of war and exotic lands for which Gumilev is generally known should in fact be a false trail in his work. It is still more ironic that these features, which made him so popular and influential with young Russian poets in the 1920s and which represent so many of the virtues sought by Soviet critics, should still be suppressed in the Soviet Union.

It is only in his last two books, *The Pyre* and *A Pillar of Fire*, that Gumilev finally enters the company of those poets who require a "Collected Works". There are still poems such as "My Readers" and "Ezbekiye", which echo the posing of earlier books, but they are now in a minority. Whether it was the apocalyptic events of the Revolution or some profound personal crisis which effected this transformation in Gumilev, one can as yet only speculate. The poet himself remarked in one of these poems: "Only snakes can slough their skins: We change, not our bodies, but our souls."

In any case the transformation is immense. Gumilev became a fine poet in defiance of his own teaching. There is now hardly a trace of the virtues preached by Gumilev the Acmeist: the rhythms are free, the imagery surrealistic, and the focus often shifts disconcertingly from one plane to another. (Characteristically, however, Gumilev still continued to drill young poets in the studios of the "Poets' Guild", and to insist that anybody could learn to write decent poetry.) Because of his early death it is natural to assume that Gumilev's last two books mark his poetic maturity; but it might be fairer to see them as a transitional stage to a poetry which was never written, and whose character can only be guessed. It is to be hoped that some poems of his last months still survive, and that they will one day be published.

Gumilev's fame is likely to rest on his lyric poetry. His larger works are less successful and suffer from constructional weaknesses. Of the plays, *Gondla* is the best, partly because it is one of the few works in which Gumilev clearly recognizes and faces the two sides of his character. Some critics have claimed the same for his last play *The Poisoned Tunic*, but here the characterization is weaker, and the poet fails to do justice to the immense dramatic and philosophical implications of his theme; it is possible, of course, that we do not have the finished version of the play, and that Gumil... copy still survives somewhere.

In his little-known prose w... editors have managed to sel... unsuspected wealth of m... Gumilev shows himself again... crossroads: the early stories... weakly imitative, but the unfi... "Joyful Brotherhood"... rich potential. His articles, on c... porary poetry reveal a surpri... broad range of sympathies and... show him to have been an ac... critic of other men's poetry as... his own.

The difficulties confronting t... editors of Gumilev are daunting... archive has been inaccessible... western students since his death... the subject has remained taboo... the Soviet Union. In view of... Gleb Struve and Boris Filipp... done well to trace so many... periodicals for previously uncol... works, and some of these add... ficantly to our understanding of... poet. A notable feature of this... tion is the number of photog... and illustrations, many of them... lished for the first time. The... omission is of Gumilev's tra... tions: only the *Porcelain Pa...* small collection of poems from (... and Indo-China, and four poem... Théophile Gautier including... *Foreign Skies*, are to be found in... Gumilev did in fact translate... whole of Gautier's *Emaux et ca...* and his other translations inc... such disparate works as Gilgam... *The Ancient Mariner* and *Fo... Passes*.

No doubt these were exclude... reasons of space, but they reflect... important aspect of the poet. ... some readers at least will regret... the edition has not been made... complete as possible. Nor is it... any mention of his play for chil... *The Tree of Transformation*, w... according to Gorchakov's *History... the Soviet Theatre*, was staged... Petrograd in 1918.

These criticisms are, however... significant by the side of this ma... ficent achievement, which is li... remain unchallenged for many... to come. These volumes have... come the usual abundance of... prints which disfigures so... western editions of Cyrillic... There are still several, but only... is serious: in the poem "The... Tram", the omission of one... makes the greengrocer's sign a... as a "green" sign. Each volu... prefaced by a useful introdu... devoted to one or other aspe... Gumilev's life and works.

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MULLER

Bent upon being true

E.W.F. TOMLIN (Editor): *Wyndham Lewis.* 397pp. Methuen. £4.

"Satire", Wyndham Lewis once wrote,

is nothing else but *the truth*, in fact that of Natural Science. That objective, non-emotional truth of the scientific intelligence sometimes takes on the exuberant sensuous quality of creative art; then it is very apt to be called "satire", for it has been bent not so much upon pleasing as upon being true.

In that sense, everything that Lewis wrote was satire; it was all bent upon being true. And far from trying to please, he often seemed determined to displease, as though displeasure were a sign of truth-telling. His writing was often strong, and sometimes harshly funny, but one would never call it pleasant. The stance that he habitually assumed—The Enemy, the single spy, the "professional Outcast of the Pen"—was simply the persona of a rude teller of unpleasant truths.

No one was more consistent in his satirist's role. He was a satirist in his painting (what is the portrait of Edith Sitwell if not satirical?), in his philosophy and in his criticism, as well as in his fiction and verse; for Lewis, all life was polemical. He called *Time and Western Man* "a sudden barrage of destructive criticism", but nearly everything he did was that.

It is not surprising that of all the writers of his time with any claim to greatness, Lewis is the least firmly established, the least certain of a permanent place in English letters. Eliot called him "one of the permanent masters of style in the English Language", but he wrote no book that is yet generally accepted as a masterpiece. On the other hand he did write books that are a permanent discredit to him, and an embarrassment to his admirers: the man who could call a book *The Jews Are They Human?*, even in clumsy jest, is a hard man to cherish. Pound has survived the worst bits of *The Cantos*, and Lawrence doesn't seem to suffer from *Kangaroo*, but Lewis's rightist views still cling to his name like a nasty smell. Comparatively few serious readers have got past that smell to the energy and originality of the best of Lewis's writings.

Mr. Tomlin offers his anthology as a "first approach" to Lewis, but it is something less than a representative selection from the prose works. Faced with the mass and variety of Lewis's productions, Mr. Tomlin has chosen the less-known work, that which is out of print and not likely to be reissued. This means that the titles a general reader might know—*Tarr*, *The Lion and the Fox*, *Time and Western Man*, *The Apes of God*—are excluded. There is nothing from Lewis's fiction, or from his rambunctious verse; nor are there any reproductions of his drawings or paintings, though a few of those hard, cold, mechanical, static designs would do much to illustrate the vision of the prose. Two-thirds of the anthology is extracted from Lewis's "sociological and philosophical writings", principally from *The Art of Being Ruled*—one of his least-read books, and understandably so. The rest is made up of short extracts from the critical and autobiographical works, with the delicate and sad essay on his blindness, "The Sea-Mists of the Winter", standing as epilogue.

If Lewis indeed deserves a seat in the modern pantheon with Joyce, Eliot, Pound and Lawrence, it is not for the work included in this anthology. The student of modern letters will find much here that is not readily available elsewhere, and much that is unfamiliar, but little that compels great admiration. He will, however, find the ideological background of one modern Man-of-the-Right, spelt out elaborately and with violence. In this sense, this volume may be compared to Lawrence's writings in *Phoenix* and *Phoenix II*—heavy going, but necessary to a full understanding of the author. Its value is dependent on the value that one places on Lewis's other, better works—on *Revenge for Love* and *Self-Condemned*, and most of all on that strange and brilliant monster, *The Human Age*. Understood in this way as a supplement to all of Lewis's work now in print, this anth... is a worthy piece of work. And... these are the terms chosen by... editor, they are certainly the... by which his achievement should... judged.

A last word of praise is due... for Mr. Tomlin's meticulous ed... and also for his warm-hearted... His scholarship is impeccable... when he writes of Lewis in an... duction and headnotes he is... a friend and partisan. This is... the good: Lewis has had enough... tractors, and even The Enemy... a friend when introductions are... made.

The Oeuvres Complètes of B... laire have been squeezed under... roof by the Paris publisher Le... in a new volume in their Pléi... series (760pp. 18fr.). In addition... the stock texts the volume... tains Baudelaire's extensive note... a projected book about Belg... some translations from Poe... (though not those of Poe's... transcript of the prosecution's... fence speeches at the trial of... *Fleurs du Mal*. This complete B... laire is bound in red cloth and... double column pages: it is port... near as enticing as the Gallimard... iade edition but nowhere near so...

Vital Russian force

...GUSTIN STASOV: *Selected Essays ...Music.* Translated by Florence ...ckas. Introduction by Gerald ...braham. 202pp. Barrie and ...Jenkins: The Cresset Press. ...

...ANDRÉ-R. HOFMANN: *Histoire ...la musique russe.* 278pp. ...Paris: Buchet/Chastel. 27fr.

...student of nineteenth-century ...n music can go very far before ...ntering the name of Stasov, ...ce inaccessibility of his writ... compelled one to take their ... on trust. Of course, Stasov ...ore than just another critic: he ... a vital force on the Russian ...al scene whose enthusiasms ...ostly affected Russian taste. He ...ed the librettos of *Khovanshchina* and *Prince Igor* and wrote the ...biographies of their composers: ...to the point, he played an im... role in fashioning a musical ...e in which the great Russian ...ists of the day could flourish. ...Stasov was hardly comparable ...the other champions of Russian ...like Laroche: he did not write ...his music criticism and his ...kably pursuits were wide-ranging, ...cing art, archaeology, political ...ry, the history of ideas and so on. ...ished his writings on the Russian ...of the period are hardly less volu... than his musical essays: ...given the enormous intellectual ...by he commanded it is small ...der that he numbered among his ...ds Tolstoy and Turgenev, ...s like Repin, Vereshchagin and ...kirev, as well as Balakirev, ...orgsky and their circle. Uncri...ally it was from Stasov that the ...acquired their nickname of "the ...y Handful".) His range of ...y was wide indeed: Gerald ...braham lists reviews "sometimes ...chapman in proportions" of ...ky's *The Ancient Coptic ...ches of Egypt*, Gnole's *History ...Gaul*, Zola, Disdeli, the Schil...Körner correspondence, as well ...specialist articles on Russian art. ...Abraham's biographical ...ccounting Stasov's training, ...ds and other interests, is as ab...ing as Stasov's own writings turn ...to be.

In a sense there is an obvious ...d with Shaw. Both men had ...ly musical training but did ...ecome it in a professional cap...; and even if Stasov was not ...se in any comparable fashion, ...was equally an inspirer to creati...and a man of scholarship. Their ...gs on music are as much social as musical criticism, and it is for their vividness as observers and critics of their times that we turn to them today. Though, judging from the present translation, Stasov does not match Shaw in sheer raciness and wit, both are tremendously partisan, possessed of apparently unbounded vitality and abjure the balanced, judicious turn of phrase. As Professor Abraham himself puts it:

Everything is intense; the praise is as exaggerated as the blame. The sharp juxtaposition of black and white . . . is of course much more vivid than carefully graded shades of grey, and one can often detect in it Stasov's painful striving to convey the precise nature at his own reaction to a composer or a work.

Above all the motivation, the driving force behind his critical writings was an immense enthusiasm which he *had* to share with others: not for him the gentle statement of his responses to a work of art which others might or might not share: "It is always absolutely essential to me that many others, that *everyone*, should be pleased by what pleases me." It hardly needs saying that all this makes for writing that is immensely readable, highly idiosyncratic, and enormously alive. It would be interesting to see if his writings in other fields are as fresh and full of personality.

If Stasov was something of a dogmatist he was far from ignorant of technicalities. His critique of Hensel's piano arrangement of the Weber *Freischütz* overture shows him discussing specific musical points with assurance, in a compellingly readable style and with admirable fairness. His understanding of the piano and of Liszt's achievements as a transcriber must have been second-to-none in the St. Petersburg musical world of 1847. And whatever shortcomings of vision he may have had, his writings bring Berlioz vividly before one, and works then only a decade old are discussed with a shrewdness and insight that leaves no doubt about the quality of Stasov's mind.

Miss Jonas in her prefatory note writes "Many of the arguments and even the words he used sound remarkably contemporary. They might easily serve the cause of avant-garde composers of today." This, one would have thought, is less likely. For whatever his failings, there is no cant, no pretentiousness or humbug about Stasov's advocacy of Liszt and Berlioz: his writings were as impassioned as their music and he brings his responses to their music before the reader in a way that is totally convincing. There is none of the Beckmesser complex here; no mindless championship of the new for its own sake and fears of the validity of his own judgments. His beliefs in the vitality of Russian music were not shared by the critical establishment of the day and Stasov's advocacy of Berlioz and Liszt in Russia was to pay rich dividends as they in turn championed Russian music in Europe at large. Miss Jonas has collected some of Stasov's most important essays, including "Twenty-five Years of Russian Art", "Liszt, Schumann and Berlioz in Russia" and "Review of the Musical Events of the Year 1847", as well as some of the letters he exchanged with Berlioz and that he published in his review of Daniel Bernard's *Correspondance inédite de Berlioz*. The translation reads extremely well, and it is a pity that the book is not more elegantly produced and more handsomely bound, for it seems overpriced as it is.

For all the interest the French have taken in Russian music during the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth, literature on the subject has been sparse since the days of Calvocoressi. There is, the blurb tells us, no history of Russian music in French and this gap is filled by the appearance of Michel Hofmann's present study. *Histoire de la musique russe*, which like Gerald Seaman's recent *History of Russian Music*, explores the period before Glinka, though in somewhat cursory fashion. Somewhat immodestly the blurb introduces M. Hofmann "que les musicologues soviétiques eux-mêmes considèrent comme le meilleur spécialiste de la musique russe en Europe Occidentale"; even so, most readers will find little new in M. Hofmann's study. It could hardly be farther removed from Stasov, or, for that matter, Professor Abraham; but there is room for a serviceable book on this subject and even if M. Hofmann's prose is not wildly compelling, his generalizations and judgments are on the whole sound.

Not for singing

ERIC SAMS: *The Songs of Robert Schumann.* 293pp. Methuen. £3 15s.

The only thing to do with songs is to sing them, or get someone else to sing them and play the piano accompaniments yourself. That way you learn by contagion, by direct acquaintance, and hardly need anyone else to point out subtleties, though they might improve your interpretation. But you do not acquire discursive knowledge about them in that way: dates of composition, biographies of the poets or the psychology of the composer, as in Schumann's case, is of great and direct importance. In German lieder there are such riches that the urge to open them up to non-Germans produces books of various sorts about them. A generation ago it was held that for us English people the best plan was to have tolerable English versions made of the German poems, such as would not dishonour the great poetry of Goethe and Heine and might not sink to the embarrassing depths of the more sentimental versifiers. A. H. Fox-Strangways and Steuart Wilson published a number of these translations—and very good some of them were but a greater number remain unpublished and this particular solution of the problem has dropped out of fashion.

In its place Mr. Eric Sams experimented with a prose translation not for singing and amplified it with a more or less elaborate commentary of description and occasional criticism, to which footnotes on textual matters were appended. He applied the method to the songs of Hugo Wolf and now has treated the whole corpus of Schumann's songs in the same way. But does it help anyone very much to be told that "here is mastery and sensitivity too lavished on a trifle"? Mr. Gerald Moore says emphatically that it does in his preface, and some of these verbal description of musical effects are more illuminating, in such a case, for instance, as "Ich grolle nicht" from the *Dichterliebe*, where there is even more irony than Mr. Sams indicates. As in the Wolf book, Mr. Sams sets out a number of motifs which had for the composer fairly consistent associations, not to say conceptual equivalents, and he also refers with salutary moderation to the cryptography that he has recently been investigating in Schumann's works. There is no doubt about Mr. Sams's scholarship, only a little about the application of it to this particular form of musical literature.

"brilliant and challenging book The opening sentence claims that 'what happens in the next moment is never as certain as it appears before and after' – and the freedom which this realisation brings is the glory celebrated so magnificently in the pages which follow . . . nobody can read it without catching at their own submerged hope."
Dennis Potter, THE TIMES

the rules of chaos

"Vizinczey is a natural entertainer—a man who has the gift of holding his reader's deepest attention . . . he has so many ideas that any reader is bound to seize a few, toss them around in his mind and then recognise, or, still more pleasant, refute them."
Terry Coleman, THE GUARDIAN

stephen vizinczey

macmillan 30s.

Caught young

ERIC FENBY: *Menuhin's House of Music.* 140pp. Icon Books. £2 5s.

Music in education and musical education are distinct though related problems. In spite of lip service to Plato, schools and universities in the nineteenth century did not follow his prescription of music and gymnastics for a general education, and musicians had no adequate specialist education provided for them till the last decade or so of the century. That has been changed and music now ranks with classics, mathematics, science and languages as a school subject in which pupils can go on to specialize at university and conservatoire level. This has been the British solution of both of the related problems. But it has by its very success missed another problem. For the high degree of coordination of senses, nerves and muscles required by a high-ranking executant the potential artist must be caught young and somehow must specialize while he is still acquiring his general education. It was to meet this practical difficulty that Mr. Yehudi Menuhin, himself once a child prodigy but now something more than a virtuoso, established his school at Stoke d'Abernon in Surrey. And it is this school in action which is described by Mr. Fenby and illustrated by Mr. Nicholas Fisk in *Menuhin's House of Music*, which is almost a glorified prospectus.

Mr. Fenby cites the cathedral for this experiment. It is indeed an encouraging precedent, though the analogy is not exact because of its smaller age grouping. A closer analogy would be the Royal Ballet School which was founded to meet this very problem of the simultaneous acquisition of knowledge and skill. The pupils in both cases are hand-picked for their physical potentiality and at Stoke d'Abernon Mr. Menuhin puts into practice his own ideas of what a musical education should comprise. The two chief innovations are supervised practice and *solfège*, which has never been used by English educationists as it has by continental conservatories. It is sad that the appearance of this book has coincided with the death of M. Marcel Cazrelle, Mr. Menuhin's musical director at the school, which also enjoys the services of a headmaster to superintend the general education of the pupils, some of whom are interviewed in these pages and describe how their lives are run in double harness.

The Europa Year Book, 1969. Volume I (1,316pp. Europa Publications. £7 10s.), is half of the new edition of this standard reference book. Its two parts give detailed information about more than 120 international organizations and about the countries of Europe (including lists of newspapers, periodicals, publishers, broadcasting bodies, universities, and cultural organizations). Volume 2, covering countries in the rest of the world, will be published in June.

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ALLEN & UNWIN

THE TIMES

T·L·S

68th Year 29 MAY 1969 No. 3,509

Table talk

Last week the sociologists began to call the literary scene to order in this country with the publication of *Books and Reading*, by Peter Mann and Jacqueline Burgoyne of the University of Sheffield (104pp. André Deutsch. 18s.). Some fastidious men of letters may want to interpret this modest reconnaissance by the social sciences as an intrusion, and an uncouth threat to quantify the reassuringly subjective terrain of literary taste and practice. Others, pining for a chance to nobble the hitherto impregnable assumptions with which they do not agree, would be only too grateful to be fed with statistics showing who actually reads what and why. But *Books and Reading*, the first of three projected annual reports on the progress of its authors' researches, is more tentative than intrusive and the only original statistics it provides relate to the siting and salesmanship of British bookshops.

The first chapter, however, does bring together the results of such few investigations as have been made over the past twenty years into the reading habits of people in different countries. The figures are scanty but they might do to undermine entrenched myths, generally manufactured by self-pitying writers convinced that their counterparts in other countries get a much better deal than themselves, about comparative degrees of literacy. Britain comes out of the comparisons rather well: in 1967, for example, a German sociologist had us bracketed with Holland at the top of a table showing what percentage of various populations reads a book at least three times a week: for both countries the figure was 45 per cent, whereas for France it was 42 per cent, for Germany 34 per cent, and for Italy only 21 per cent. In a 1950 Gallup Poll we did better still: asked "Do you happen to be reading any books or novels at the present time?" (it would be good to have Dr. Gallup's explanation of that snooty distinction between books and novels), 55 per cent of people here said that they were, a percentage almost double that for the United States.

That a book published in 1969 should still be quoting figures collected in 1950 is a sign that the sociological study of reading, or of leisure in general, has not yet found the sponsors it needs if it is to pass beyond the simplistic inquiries of the kind recorded in *Books and Reading*. Without a great deal more money there cannot be research of the embracing sort that is needed. It is clear, for instance, that the questions asked in the polls referred to beg subtler ones: what qualifies as a "book" and what doesn't, and to what extent have the respondents been led astray by snobbery? Research workers might learn something about the degree of distortion they should allow for in this last respect by reference to the late Dr. Kinsey, in his studies of another leisure activity where some exaggeration of our actual prowess may be needed to create the right impression.

Who, though, is going to put up the money for the more penetrating and widespread research that might truly anatomize the book world? Dr. Mann's own work has been subsidized by the Booksellers Association and, through them, by Book Tokens Limited and a number of publishers. They, naturally, are not investing in the sterile manoeuvres of "pure" sociology but in what they hope will be an incisive piece of market research. They have the right to be provided with facts and figures that will either confirm them in their present ways or show in what directions these ought to be modified. Thus, W. H. Smith & Son should soon get the message of Dr. Mann's last chapter, which summarizes the findings of a bookshop survey carried out up and down the country by his students on vacation and characterizes Smith's shops as ones of praiseworthy design and defective service.

Academic sociology and market research can overlap quite profitably, and the present three-year collaboration between the book trade and the University of Sheffield seems to have some invigorating results. If there is room, if the money is made available from some inexhaustible and disinterested source, for prolonged investigation into the part that reading has in people's lives, and away the most challenging area of *Books and Reading* is the chapter in which Dr. Mann introduces and justifies his "Sociological Model for the Study of Book Reading". But yet this is a not very complicated schema, with an axis running from "Utilitarian" reading on the left to "Personal" reading on the right and "Social" reading in the middle. These categorizations are already arguable but they are based largely on preconception; it is the qualifications or complications which Dr. Mann and his helpers have to fit into them in the next few years that will measure the lasting value of the work.

TLS 7

The Oxford University Press has published *TLS 7*, an anthology of some of the more significant essays and reviews published in these columns during 1968 (237pp, £1 10s). As well as many front-page middle-page articles, *TLS 7* contains reviews of thirteen of the year's important novels, seven reviews of poetry and three articles reprinted from our "Little Magazines" number of last April.

Commentary

Last year in May, Paris had "the events"; this year it was the "non-events", and in particular a thirty-six-hour non-stop jamboree of "action poétique permanente" at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, under the suitably stirring title of "Liberté de Parole". The element of fantasy which finally engulfed the entire enterprise was already visible in the manifesto-leaflet put out beforehand by the trendy publisher of pop and neo-surrealist poetry who was organizing it.

A variety of audio-visual thrills, hinted at by the accompanying kinky-sexy photos, were promised under such headings as Action, Happening, Events, Art, Anti-Art, Cut Up (*sic*), Films Expérimentaux Underground, &c. (an excellent demonstration, incidentally, of the extent to which the French depend on basic *franglais* when talking or writing about anything even remotely experimental or avant-garde). But the real knock-out was on the leaflet's end page, which listed no fewer than 566 French or Paris-based poets, artists, writers and critics who, it was claimed, had been invited to participate "actively" in this manifestation of poetic solidarity. The fascinating conglomeration of names read something like an *Almanach de Gotha* of the French intellectual "left", ranging from the decimated platoon of surrealist faithful through the fusty young metaphysical purists of *Ephémère* to the structuralist-leninist *enragés* of *Tel Quel*. The list, a footnote emphasized, was not "limitative": just as well, perhaps, since some of the invited guests (e.g., Yves Klein) had been dead for years.

The gates opened at 2 p.m. The house was soon packed with a predominantly young and lively audience which, despite superficial hippy gear, failed signally to radiate the beatific coolness which provides such a relaxing note at Round House or Fillmore Auditorium love-ins. Attempts at personal decoration were mostly deplorable: the beads and bangles, brocades and velveteens would have disgraced a bankrupt trading post on the upper reaches of the Orinoco, while the face-paint suffered from the influence of the Ecole de Paris—drab, tachiste smears in place of the colourful, incisive patterns with which London's flower-children acknowledge their debt to American pop art. General impression: up-tight (no French phrase for that, either, luckily), probably more used to chanting *mots d'ordre* than mantras, folk hero likely to be Herb Marcuse rather than Harry Krishna.

Proceedings started conventionally enough with recital of surrealist poems; readers looked and sounded too smooth to be genuine surrealist poets, and in fact turned out to be professional actors. Surrealist poets themselves, old hands at organizing rowdy demonstrations, public protests, &c., had wisely decided to steer clear of this particular event, a precaution followed by most of the other 566. Next on the programme was an English poet who projected a film consisting of random clips of banal images accompanied by sound-track taken from an Assimil English-language course. The joke was acceptable, but went on too long, and after twenty (?) minutes the audience was noticeably restive. Successive wavelets of poets, singers and musicians trickled on to the stage, interspersed with tape-recorded messages, poems and miscellaneous sounds from foreign participants. General unintelligibility of contributions exacerbated by gradual deterioration of microphone amplifier system, which finally broke down during a somewhat dispirited performance by a French pop-jazz group, whose musical message sounded very thin indeed when deprived of the benefits of electronic boost.

This was the beginning of the end. As soon as the audience realized that its collective lung-power was now potentially greater than the sounds drooling down from the stage it roared its massive disapproval of the goings-on. Not even the appearance on stage of a brace of well-known sound-poets, whose speciality is the leather-lunged rendering of piercing vocal patterns of pure tonality, could save the situation: their cries, growls and groans were matched, decibel for decibel, by the yells of the assembled poetry-lovers who by now were dancing up and down in the aisles, shaking their fists.

Some time around 8 p.m. a small group of revolutionary dissidents invaded the stage, read out (inaudibly) a manifesto and distributed the text throughout the theatre. The leaflet claimed, notably, that "la parole n'est pas libre dans un lieu acheté" (so much for the organizers), "la parole n'est pas libre quand elle se réfère aux princes défunts de la culture" (so much for Artaud, Breton and the other great names from the immediate past invoked by the authors of the invitation's preamble), and that "la rue est le seul théâtre possible pour la liberté de parole".

A final brief visit, around 2 a.m., at what should have been the fourteenth of the thirty-six hours of "action poétique", found the iron grille drawn firmly across the front of a darkened theatre. On the other side of the bars, a blackboard displayed a message scrawled in chalk: "Pour des raisons d'ordre téchnique *Liberté de Parole* a dû être suspendu. . . ." Chaos a *technical matter*? Well, why not. In a country where the bloody, near-civil-war of just a year ago can be referred to blandly as "les événements", all is possible.

The theatre awning proclaimed that the play to be performed the following day was Chekhov's *Ce Fou de Platonov*.

* * *

A brave assault on the rich poetry reading circuits of America is being planned by two eminent English bards. Ted Hughes and Richard Murphy, accompanied by their manager Tony White, will be making an East to West tour of universities, schools, and literary societies, offering not just readings of their own work but also anthologies of modern English and Irish poetry and semi-serious for critical discussion. It is believed that this is the first time such a tour has been attempted by British poets. Both Hughes and Murphy are skilled readers (indeed Murphy, who frequently recites his own verse from memory, has upstaged many a gnarled circuit veteran in his time), and their work is well known in America, so success seems to be assured. Bookings are invited and should be addressed to: Tony White, 7 Powis Court, Powis Square, London, W.11.

* * *

This year's John Llewelyn Rhys Memorial Prize (£100 for "the most memorable or promising work" by a British or Commonwealth writer under thirty) has been won by Melvyn Bragg, for his novel *Without a City Wall* (Secker and Warburg). The runners-up were Piers Paul Read and Tim Jeal and Peter King.

from our backlist

Douglas Grant said 'his critical perception is backed up by his scholarship'. John Wain referred to 'a continual state of expectancy and excitement'. After 135 years we learn that books need descriptive titles, but Frank Kermode's two volumes of essays have survived their names—**Puzzles and Epiphanies** first (25s), **Continuities** next (42s)—and live with health in the backlist. 'A genuine book' John Gross said of P. & E, 'not just a miscellany'.

ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL



'Old Bruin'

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON: *Old Bruin*. 482pp. Oxford University Press. £3 5s.

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON published his first book, *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis*, in 1913. From his excellent biography of Morison as leader, Admiral Morison went on to writing approximately a dozen books, of which rather more than half are devoted to his favourite subject, the sea. His *Maritime History of Massachusetts* was published in 1921 and his great life of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, in 1942. Now, in 1968, he publishes the life of another great seaman, Captain Calbraith Perry. The title page is a display of the achievements of Commodore, beginning with the "Opening of Liberia and ending with the "Most important of his services, the famous expedition of the "Black Ships" which opened Japan to the West.

In writing the life of "Old Bruin", the Admiral has found a subject after his own heart. Perry was not only a successful naval officer in the narrow technical sense of the term and a pioneer in naval navigation and in modern naval artillery; he was a great leader of men. In some ways, Perry recalls Nelson. Neither had the elegant manner of Nelson nor, for example of Stephen Decatur, but they were fighter ships and carried out their duties with a complete devotion to duty and a complete understanding of what that duty was.

"Old Bruin" was not, in the ordinary sense of the term, a popular and endearing officer. He was admired and feared by the rank and file, but in the age of increasing democracy he opposed the abolition of flogging. Since he was a good Jackson man, we may assume that had he survived into the period of the Civil War he would have served the cause of the Union loyally, but would have seen it as a liberating crusade for the slaves. At times, as he is represented here, he recalls the well-trained story of the Yankee skipper who was given a new first mate by his owners. He addressed his new officer in command thus: "What I want from you is silence, and not so much of that". But there is plenty of evidence here that most of his officers and most of his men loved Perry more than they might have trusted some more popularity seeking characters.

Between the United States Navy has been the great academic love of Admiral Morison's life, and he has given himself plenty of scope in writing this life of Perry. We learn a great deal about sailing, about conditions of the crews, the design of ships, about the training of officers, and diet, about everything that bears on the creation of a taut ship. We are even told how to spell "Canary Cake" correctly—it is "Canary"—and we are given the recipe for the best preparation of this (by rather inedible confection.) Admiral Morison bothered by the indignity of history". When he has to say that H.M.S. Hunter was completely clobbered", that is what he says, and in the great controversies which arose over the conduct of officers, controversies which involved Perry family in endless disputes. The part stirred up by the indefatigable and venomous James Fenimore Cooper — he describes him as a very odd fish even for a naval officer" but the family came out of "Mr. Madison's War" covered with glory. With one of those pieces of gratuitous superfluous information which make this book so lively, Admiral Morison tells us that the British captured U.S.S. President. The same in the Royal Navy, and at present H.M.S. President is moored off the Thames Embankment. By marrying a Slidell, Matthew Calbraith Perry became allied to an influential political clan, for much of which it was a Slidell who, with Mason, was captured by Captain Wilkes, U.S.N., at the beginning of the Civil War, an action which almost brought on a war with Great Britain which could have ended only in victory of the Confederacy: it is not for nothing that Wilkes was the nephew of the famous hero of "Wilkes and Liberty".

We learn a great deal about the social status and the financial resources of American naval officers at this time:

> Officers of the army and navy were not considered good catches. They were not invited to Bayards, Joinvilles or Mountbattens. They generally married, for love, in a manner that recalls rather Jim Hawkins in the Apple Barrel. Mackenzie, determined to stamp out any danger of mutiny, by what was legally probably rather rough justice, summoned a court martial on the ship and hanged the chief mutineers—including the son of the Secretary of War! Again, as in the case of his brother's victory on Lake Erie, the Perry family were deeply involved in a savage controversy.

And to make his point, Admiral Morison tells us that his debutante friends bewailed the fact that "Beatrice Ayer was 'throwing herself away' on a young army lieutenant named George S. Patton whom she married in 1910. But this attitude completely changed in World War I." Since there is no reason to believe that Matthew Perry was a Boston "do-gooder", his sympathetic understanding of the problems of Liberia is much to his credit, and the zeal with which he hunted down slave-traders refutes, in great part, as Admiral Morison says, charges brought a generation ago by W. E. B. DuBois. And in pursuing pirates as well as slavers, the small United States Navy had its hands full in the highly disorderly Caribbean which resulted from the collapse of the Spanish empire.

One of Perry's chores is decidedly comic in retrospect, but must have been odious in actuality. He was ordered to take in his ship, the U.S.S. Concord, John Randolph of Roanoke who had been appointed, as an outrageous piece of Jacksonian jobbery, Minister to Russia. It was really a way of helping to render that disagreeable eunuch a little more solvent than he deserved to be, and Perry managed to keep his temper, getting a training which stood him in good stead much later in his life. But despite his control of his temper, Perry got involved in a series of brawls. He might in fact have been involved in a duel with Daniel O'Connor had "the Liberator" (who had himself killed his man in a duel) not resolved never to fight again. So perhaps the danger or the opportunity was less than Perry or his friends thought. In any event, Perry was too busy with basic reforms of lighthouses and with steam navigation to waste too much time with politicians from Ireland or from New England.

But although Perry was a man who mastered his temper, he seems to have attracted the lightning of violent controversy. He chose his brother-in-law, Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, to command the new U.S.S. Somers, which was to be a school ship. This was unfortunate for everybody, for the Somers was the scene of the most celebrated and debated mutiny in American naval history and, to add to the indubitable difficulties of the situation, the chief mutineer was the son of a Cabinet member. He was a highly unpleasant and unstable youth,

And after the meeting of Perry and his sailors with the officials of the Bakufu with the meeting of Columbus and the Caribbean chiefs in his island voyages. But surely the real parallel is with the meeting of the blood tax collectors of Moctezuma II (the Aztec chief whom Bernal Diaz always calls "the great Montezuma") with those strangers from the East. Like the Japanese, the Aztec tax-gatherers sent drawings of the strangers who had come from the unknown world. Like the agents of the Shogunate, the Aztec officials tried desperately to keep Cortès from getting to Mexico and presenting himself to Moctezuma. Perhaps they feared, as some of the Bakufu feared, that their nominal sovereign would not be up to the task of dealing with these formidable strangers.

The Japanese *did* manage to keep Perry from seeing the Shogun, not to speak of the Tenno. Cortès, after all, had to run terrific risks before he could force himself into Tenochtitlan. But then the aims of Cortès and of Perry were very different. Cortès wished to conquer for his king, the Emperor Charles V, "new worlds for Castile and Léon" much more attractive than any Columbus had discovered. Perry wished only to open Japan to the civilizing influences of the West. He was not imbued with the race superiority and religious superiority of many of the missionaries who followed his steps, but he genuinely thought Japan would be greatly improved by the introduction of all the techniques of the West. How completely the Japanese were to master them was not to be displayed until December 7, 1941!

The Japanese treaty was Perry's greatest achievement, and it was made possible not only because of his sagacity and self-control but because of his successful command of the officers and men of his squadron. Admiral Morison suggests, though he does not assert, that American naval officers imitated British naval officers and admitted prostitutes to the ships of the Navy rather than risk giving the sailors "liberty" on shore. This did not, of course, prevent a high incidence of syphilis, but if we compare the record of Perry's squadron with the troubles of the American squadron at the time of the Meiji revolution as recounted by Surgeon Boyer, U.S.N., with his account of the ravages of "Miss Placed Confidence", we can esteem even more highly Perry's achievements.

And Perry had not only to deal with the inbred suspicions and fearful bureaucracy of the Shogunate, he had to deal with the timid and frightened inhabitants of Okinawa. Their response to the Americans was very unlike that which they gave after the Second World War, if we can believe what we were told in *The Teahouse of the August Moon*. But few aggressive modern powers showed better manners and better judgment than the United States at a period when the political system in Washington was collapsing, and one is sometimes tempted to feel that the only competent officials of the Federal government were the officers of the Navy. Perry had dealt with China with the same tact but without the same free hand. And, a man who attracted controversy to the end, his great report had a very chequered history. But he died with a record of service that few other American naval officers have ever equalled.

In this account, which charms by its enthusiasm as much as by its learning, Admiral Morison has revealed his own devotion not only to the Navy but also to the memory of the great days of sail which he chronicled in *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*. Again and again we get a living description of the great ships driving ahead through the great seas. Admiral Morison's prose recalls Robert Bridges's poetry, and since the peak of Perry's career was in the Pacific, his achievement at its best is summed up in the poem.

> And yet, O splendid ship, unhail'd and nameless,
> I know not if, aiming a fancy, I rightly divine
> That thou has a purpose joyful, a courage blameless,
> Thy port assured in a happier land than mine.
> But for all I have given thee, beauty enough is thine,
> As thou, aslant with trim tackle and shrouding,
> From the proud nostril curve of a prow's fine
> In the offing scatterest foam, thy white sails crowding

Scottish Nationalism

by H. J. Hanham

Professor Hanham's object in this very timely book has been to explain how Scottish nationalism has developed over the past hundred years, and to give an account of the position as he sees it today. 30/-

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by John D. Lees

Dr Lees' book is intended to serve as an introductory guide to the American political system. He traces the interdependence of political institutions and social forces, and examines the distinctive features of American political development. 60/-

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by L. R. Palmor

A new guide in which Professor Palmer offers a practical application of the arguments set out in his book *Mycenaeans and Minoans*. After a brief introduction on the archaeological and scientific questions involved, the guide takes the reader through the palace quarter by quarter. With six plates and 23 text figures. 42/-

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by Piers Anthony

A very disturbing work of science fiction by an American newcomer. Two men and a woman survive an experience of the planet Nuere—savage Omnivores, hyper-intelligent but deadly Mantas, a spore-filled world. Their threat to Earth is investigated by a special agent, a stripped-down human chassis rebuilt to computer specifications. 25/-

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A young Danish writer's novel about the guests in an Atlantic coast hotel in the aftermath of atomic war. Mr Holm draws a chastening picture of the psychological and ethical conflicts within the hotel, and the fears and tension among the guests. Translated by Sylvia Clayton. 21/-

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An anthology which includes work by John Cotton, John Daniel, Douglas Dunn, Elaine Feinstein, Ian Hamilton, David Harsent, Jeremy Hooker, V. C. Horwell and Bartholomew Quinn. 25/-

American Poetry

edited by Donald Hall

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Dutch Uncle

by Simon Gray

The complete text of Mr Gray's play, which was produced in March by the Royal Shakespeare Company with Warren Mitchell in the lead. 22/-

FABER & FABER

To the Editor

Poetry Professor

Sir, Many students at Oxford feel acute dissatisfaction with their new Poetry Professor. Since your periodical is printing his lectures it might be as well also to register a not uncommon response to the latest one (May 22).

Mr. Fuller has selected unpoetical quotations from a number of eminent modern poets to illustrate his critical bias against "sentimentality" in poetry. In his lecture we felt sentimentality becoming dangerously synonymous with "feeling" of any sort. To use our Poetry Chair as a podium from which to polemicize against poets whose work the professor apparently knows only from anthologies (William Carlos Williams) and whose technique he has made no effort to comprehend because it is so different from his own technique, seems a gross abuse to many of us. Was not Mr. Fuller in fact justifying the poetics of the 1930s, which he practises with undeniable skill but which are *not* the only form of poetry?

In speaking at Oxford, Mr. Fuller is, thank heaven, not speaking for Oxford Poetry.

MICHAEL SCHMIDT,
President, Oxford University Poetry Society, 21 Bardwell Road, Oxford.

Letters for Paris libraries

Sir,—May I through your columns draw attention to an absurd and irritating change in the regulations governing letters of recommendation from the British Embassy in Paris for readers in Paris libraries?

These purely formal letters were previously available gratis from the Consulate in the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré. They are still to be had gratis, but from the office of the Cultural Attaché in the Rue des Ecoles, on the other side of Paris. The Consulate, which has now moved to the Rue d'Agnessau, will deliver the letters only for a fee of 6 francs, that is something over 10s., for a perfectly unnecessary consular stamp.

Prospective researchers, may well ask why a letter should be free in one part of Paris and cost 10s. in another—but since so much time is wasted discovering the change in the procedure one is obliged to pay the fee rather than waste more time which is so particularly valuable when reckoned in the terms of foreign currency available.

MARGERY WEINER,
127 Eyre Court, London, N.W.8.

Arnold Bennett Museum

Sir,—Will you allow me to reply briefly to Arnold R. Mountford's letter regarding the Arnold Bennett Museum which appeared in your May 22 issue? A report in *The Daily Telegraph* of February 24 reads, in part, as follows:

"The Arnold Bennett Museum, the first concrete link between the novelist and his native Potteries, is doomed. And there is no sign of concerted protest among officials of the local Arnold Bennett Society, let alone local people.

Mr. Mountford's assurance that the facts are otherwise will be greeted with pleasure and relief by those, including myself, who are concerned for the museum's future, though Mr. Henry Adler will draw cold comfort from Mr. Mountford's observation that it is "most probable" that the contents of the museum will be transferred to the City Museum and Art Gallery at some unspecified date.

The tone of Mr. Mountford's letter implies that I have done the museum a disservice, but this cannot be so, for my letter, and his own, must serve to reanimate an interest in the museum and may increase the number of visitors to it; and, as Mr. Mountford remarks, they will be able to judge the situation for themselves.

ROBERT RONSON,
55 Bidston Road, Birkenhead, Cheshire.

"Concerning Architecture"

Sir, Your reviewer is very generous to me, but he is less than fair to the editor and the contributors of *Concerning Architecture*, if he blames them for lack of coherence in what they have written (May 15).

This is not a symposium in which an editor thinks up chapter headings and then chooses authors to write the chapters. This is a Festschrift. Let him look at other Festschrifts such as the two volumes for Professor Wittkower and the two volumes for the late Professor Panofsky, and he will find no coherence at all, each author writing about something within his own field of interest and research. In *Concerning Architecture* at least all have written about architectural historiography from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century. Is not that more profitable for the general reader than "The Image of Pity" in S. Croce in Gerusalemme, side by side with Benjamin West's "Death of Nelson", and "The Origin of the Thenos" side by side with Goya's "Portraits of the Four Temperaments"?

N. B. L. PEVSNER,
12 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.1.

Knowledge of language

Sir,—While accepting Professor Chomsky's view of the impossibility of "explaining" the acquisition of language by learning and reinforcement theory, there are several other issues which he seems quite blatantly to confuse in the excerpt from the first John Locke Lecture published in your issue of May 15.

(1) He appears at once to include and ignore the distinction between written and spoken language: "Human gestural systems . . . observe these limitations"; "these" referring to "a finite number of signals, each produced under a fixed range of stimulus conditions". This seems hardly "reasonable to suppose".

(2) "Its [a non-linguistic animal's signalling system] scope is therefore greater in kind not degree than that of discrete human language." Surely spoken language is not discrete, though it may well be finite. Intonation, pitch, emphasis, volume, play a critical and "*corpuscle*" role. Yet he refers to "the object of the linguist's study" as "the speaker-hearer". Again, "a generative grammar [is] a system of rules and principles that determines a sound-meaning connexion for an infinite set of sentences".

(3) "A language in the human sense . . . is available for free expression of thought precisely because it is not under direct stimulus and does not signal 'points' on non-linguistic 'dimensions'." This surely is saying two things at, though they were but one.

(4a) He does not seem quite to abolish the Skinner-Quine explication, though his constant use of the word and compound phrases derived from it, "internalization", a concept that has enabled Talcott Parsons's work on the social system to reconcile the "psychoanalytic" and the "behaviouristic". We *learn* when we *internalize*. I quote Chomsky:

It would be quite useful to have a concept X such that a person who knows English, and thus knows certain facts of English, also Xs these facts; that furthermore he Xs the principles and rules of his internalized grammar, both those that can be brought to awareness and those that are forever hidden from consciousness; and that he Xs the principles that underlie the acquisition of language in the first place. We have no clear concept such as X.

(4b) Professor Chomsky's own difficulties seem to lie in the highly dubious and suddenly introduced juxtaposition of "knowledge, unconscious knowledge, and innate knowledge". Just where does the distinction lie in the "black box"?

NICHOLAS LAFITTE,
Department of Econometrics, Faculty of Social Science, The University, Birmingham 15.

Sir,—Your Commentary (May 15) on Chomsky's and other behaviourist or determinist views of man: do not they all suffer the same sort of difficulty as King David's "all men are liars"?

If *all* language, and *all* ideas, are explicable in terms of conditioning, fixed rules, &c., then the explanation of the language and ideas of Messrs. Chomsky, Skinner, &c., must also be in terms of conditioning, fixed rules, &c. If these *cannot* be other than what they are, they will be neither true nor false. Without uncertainty—and free will?—there is not only no truth for any other value but not even the possibility of discussing whether there is or not, either generally, or in particular cases.

ELIZABETH YOUNG,
100 Bayswater Road, London, W.2.

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NICHOLAS LAFITTE,
Department of Econometrics, Faculty of Social Science, The University, Birmingham 15.

Ingres

Sir,—I cannot deal seriously with a review (May 15) of such intellectual and emotional capriciousness that it can begin by saying that the commentaries in my monograph on Ingres are "spirited" and can end by saying that they are "rather heavy-handed"; nor can I disprove, short of spiritualist intervention, your reviewer's remarkable assertion that Ingres painted his sitters with such an "uninvolved form of naturalism" that "we would recognize any of them who entered a room". (In which of her two totally different guises, the Washington or the London portrait, does your reviewer expect to recognize Mme. Moitessier's reincarnation?)

But perhaps I should defend myself against the single charge of factual error that your reviewer has made. He corrects me in the retention of the traditional misidentification of Mme. Duvaucey de Nittis as Mme. Devaucay and, by neglecting to mention the date of Hans Naef's publication of this important fact, implies that I missed it. I obviously did, since it appeared in December, 1968 (*Schweizer Monatshefte*), a year after my own book was published. It is a pity that your reviewer does not think about other art writers in the "human terms" he finds so lacking in my exposition of Ingres's art.

ROBERT ROSENBLUM,
Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, N.Y. 10021, U.S.A.

Byron and Brooke

Sir, It is strange that neither Ivan Rees (May 8) nor Professor G. A. Willkes, in his edition of Fulke Greville's *Remains*, has noticed Grosart's reference (*Works of Greville*, 1870, i, xx) to the manuscript which, as we now learn, was known to Byron. From among the vast library of Richard Heber, the bibliomane, was sold in 1834 (Heber Sale Catalogue, Part iv, item 921, 126-7) a copy of the 1670 *Remains* which contained the following note by its owner:

In Lord Oxford's Library is a MS. of these poems (probably the original) corresponding exactly with the present edition; the only variations which occurred to me on a hasty inspection were in the 14th and 15th Sections where I found Aristocratie, and Democratie, not, as here, Aristocracy and Democracy, and the reference at Stanza 62d, to Cicero contra Rutilium corrupted in the printed copy to Rutilium.

This account needs qualifying. It is the printed text which has *contra Rutilium*, and, I suspect, the manuscript which reads (correctly) *Rutilum*; we may compare *Rullum* in Warwick MS. "A", now British Museum Add. 54566. Clearly Would ascribe "Aristocratie" and "Democratie" to an error in the printing of the catalogue rather than to Heber's misreading of what must have stood (compare Warwick "A") as "Aristocratie" and "Democratie". What Heber meant by "the original" is not altogether clear; and Byron's description suggests that "these poems" should refer to the *Treatise of Monarchy* alone. In that case the manuscript cannot be identified with its cousin Warwick "A" which is in a scribal holograph with no trace of a "different hand towards the close".

The only part of Heber's note which is unquestionably accurate is his assertion that the manuscript was, in 1812-3, in the possession of the 5th Earl of Oxford. Byron's first letter was written immediately after his return from a month's stay at Fwood, the Harleys' country house near Presteigne, Herefordshire, while the second is dated the day that he left for Portsmouth with his lover, Lady Oxford (L. A. Marchand, *Byron*, 1957).

W. HILTON KELLIHER,
The British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, London, W.C.1.

"The Commonwealth Experience"

Sir,—Your reviewer (May 8), gently chiding me for the misspelling of proper names in *The Commonwealth Experience*, inquires: "Is the name of Victor Trumper no longer remembered at Lord's?" I am confident that it is, but equally confident that the name of Hugh Trumble, who twice performed the hat-trick against England, at Melbourne in 1901-02 and again in 1903-04, is even better remembered in Australia and by Sir Robert Menzies, from one of whose speeches the quotation in which it figures was taken.

N. MANSERGH,
St. John's College, Cambridge.

"The Golden Web"

Sir,—Your reviewer of Erik Barnouw's *The Golden Web* (April 24) appears to have brought superficial understanding as well as imprecise knowledge of the U.S broadcasting system to his assignment. Nor is it readily comprehensible why he should declare that *The Golden Web* "obviously invokes comparison" with Asa Briggs's *The Golden Age of Wireless*, especially since (as your reviewer himself observes) the former is a narration of U.S. broadcasting history between 1933-1953 while Briggs's study is "essentially about the B.B.C. and the relations between the corporation and the Government". Indeed, your reviewer goes on to indicate, as though to reinforce his own viewpoint, that the "controlling organizations" of the two national systems (the Federal Communications Commission and the Post Office/Board of Governors) suggest no meaningful parallels. Quite so: neither Barnouw nor Briggs purports to offer analytical studies in comparative government and mass communication systems.

More puzzling and, so it seems to me, more unfortunate in terms of the misinterpretations and distorted specificity offered up, is the cropper your reviewer now does only rarely: reading historical significance "into the generally straightforward events and circumstances.

There were (and remain) factors conducive to a "scandal". But one of the first things to write about this characteristic of *qua* characteristic is that by any for better or for worse, this is the way the Congress of has wanted it to be. Your generalizes about a singularly or at least inconsequential factor serving that the "large majority stations" made it "impossible for seven commissioners to know all being broadcast throughout the ment". Not for a long time has one a party to the debate over broadcasting seriously urged the F.C.C.—its individual members its grossly undermanned staff—ought to monitor the programmes being broadcast throughout the cational radio and television sta any rate for the purpose of "c ling" the content of what is bro Knowing *what* is broadcast is a problem in the United States, native *or* quantitative terms!

In large measure the heart continuing controversy over States broadcasting lies in the stag —administrative, judicial and —of "regulation" (not "contro your reviewer puts it) as a con policy imbedded in the Federal munications Act. However, y viewer seems unaware of the point of the argumentation on of the controversy; the First A ment of the United States Cons with its guarantees of freedom of and of press (long ago affirmed by United States Supreme Court to ing also to the modern media of munication). (Section 326 of the eral Communications Act, pr somewhat redundantly, forbids lutely censorship of programs the Commission.) Your reviewer to equate "control" with "regulation"—an important distinction has been ulated in the United States since Professor Barnouw has shown the munications Act and its predeces were established by the Congress *largely as the fulcrum of the broadcast industry*—to seek to ensure a measure of order in the spectral realm of casting.

It is true, on the other hand, through its licence-renewal mandate F.C.C. may be said to be able to exercise a form of *ex post facto* pre censorship. But your reviewer does with the past tense the Commission requirement to review past performance by broadcast licensees seeking renewal, seemingly unaware that this has been the case since establishment of Commission. The still-continued shelving of the "Blue Book" of Second World War era aside, it is disturbing that your reviewer should not collect information "about stations behaved" during the (currently, three years) of their recent licence-tenure. The Commission does precisely this, and in ample dimensions.

It is similarly imprecise to say the F.C.C. was weak during the covered by *The Golden Web* "the real arena of broadcasting has come a network domain". (Wide copy of Professor Barnouw's book hand I am uncertain whether this tion is his or your reviewer's) By latter part of the period covered by book, the hitherto unchallenged quently arbitrary control there appropriate words of the radio entre over most stations had commenced wither, in part because of the spr television, in part because of the Department of Justice initiated acti against such trade-restraining com

ROBERT LINDSAY,
Associate Professor of Mass C munication, University of Minne U.S.A.

The Bishop's riddle

Sir, My late husband, R. A. Aust Leigh, gave *air* as a possible answer this riddle (May 15), with the follow explanation:

Couplet 1. South wind (air in motion gentle when calm; in tempest Eur don (or Sirocco), giving pun on E *nod*) which oriental kings in India, &c., watch for, that they may plant in wind-fertilized soil.

3. North wind: made visible by and ice; known only to a few explorers; bitter cold hated by all.

4. West wind: sent to Noah, tok nant of humanity; controls flood; b one night and day, as Jewish leg states.

5. Atmospheric pressure (stati is 3lb. on each square inch, equiva to column of air a mile high.

6. South and West gales: trade winds bring Gulf Stream.

This is what he had written down. Our copy of the riddle was annotated couplets, and I think there was another line, incorporating the words "a" nothing". It is now many years ago, I cannot remember whether he pres it alone or with the help of others.

MARGARET AUSTEN-LEIGH,

Promiscuous despair

Mr Merwin's oppressive lack of humour might be expected in a writer bent on maintaining a level of solemnity rarely found even in *Paradise Lost*. But two features of his style seem adventitious as well as regrettable. One is a kind of semantic shock that he uses in place of precise language; e.g. "Now all my teachers are dead except silence", where the unexpectedness of *silence* is supposed to outweigh its evitability—for any number of abstractions would do equally well in the line. The other feature is a sticky pathos or lyric sentimentality which, like the semantic shock, recalls Cummings without suggesting an influence. Addressing the spirit of a dead girl, who had returned briefly to those who loved her and then fled, he says, "Oh come back we were watching all the time/With the delight choking us and the piled/Grief scrambling like guilt to leave us/At the sight of you/Looking well". It is hard to single out particular poems in this collection as being satisfactory, although lines and passages are often striking. Perhaps the most adequate is the least characteristic—"The Dry Stone Mason", in which the poet sounds tenderly witty about the funeral of an alcoholic mason who built dry stone walls.

If one judges Mr. A. R. Ammons by his *Selected Poems*, he seems like many of his contemporaries in using pastoral imagery to reflect upon life in a nation that is now at the most pervasively urban stage in its history. Reading his book, one can scarcely believe there is a population explosion; for Mr. Ammons's world contains even fewer people than Mr. Merwin's. As if to compensate for this dearth, he devotes one long, saccharine poem to the memory of a humble servant—"Oh I will not end my singing; / my songs like blueberries/felt-out and black to her searching fingers before light/welcome her".

A more dangerous whimsy is his custom of personifying the various elements of landscape—wind, mountains, &c.—as naive playmates for a quasi-innocent speaker. Nature assumes a fatuous benignity in these poems, while supplying a cast of characters to replace the presumably malignant humans whom Mr. Ammons has swept behind scenes; "I called the wind and it/went into the anti-hero, so his laughter could be brutal, his comedy malicious". Moreover, there can be found in his plays "the simplicity and humour of the Celtic tradition where the sagn holds room not only for the heroic, but for the grotesque and even the burlesque".

From the rough notes and sketches for plays which Synge left, Dr. Saddlemyer concludes that he was moving towards a future mode. "The distance between the assorted greys of *The Well of the Saints* and the black comedy of today is not very great." To confirm this, she quotes a remark of Frank Fay, "Synge has the black drop in him". Unfortunately she has misinterpreted the colloquial expression, "the black drop", which is an offensive term applied to people in Ireland who have had Protestant forebears.

"Walking on Sunday . . ."

Walking on Sunday into Omey Island
when the tide had fallen slack,
I crossed a spit of wet ribbed sand
with a cold breeze at my back.

Two sheepdogs nosed me at a stile,
boys cheered on the green,
a woman came out of her house to smile
and tell me she had seen

men digging down at St. Feehin's Church,
buried in sand for centuries
up to its pink stone gable top, a perch
for choughs and sea-pies.

I found a dimple scalloped from a dune,
a landing-slip for coracles,
two graveyards—one for women, one for men—
odorous of miracles:

and twelve parishioners probing a soft floor
to find what solid shape there was
under shell-drift; seeking window, door;
and measuring the house.

Blood was returning dimly to the face
of the chancel they'd uncovered,
granite skin that rain would kiss
until the body flowered.

Silently I blessed the work,
a beautiful spring reseeding:
Feehin used plug and feather to split rock
and poised the stone to sing.

He tuned encephony to make
harmony in this chair:
the ocean vandalled it, he died of plague,
hawks turned it into an eyrie.

By now the flood-tide crimped the shore,
its two white arms embraced the island.
I had to go in time, with none to spare,
or stay, and be marooned.

RICHARD MURPHY

Anglo-Irish

DAN SADDLEMYER: *J. M. Synge and Modern Comedy*. 31pp. Dublin: Dolmen Press. London: Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

W. B. Yeats expressed intense dislike for the realism of Ibsen's plays, but he could hardly have agreed with a London critic's dismissal of *Ghosts* as nothing but "an open drain, a gigantic sore unbandaged, a dirty disease publicly". Shortly before the *Playboy of the Western World* was produced for the first time in 1907, Yeats wrote to his American friend, John Quinn:

We all have a hard fight in Ireland before we get the right for every man to write the world in his own way admitted. Synge is invaluable to us because he has that kind of intense narrow personality which necessarily raises the whole issue. It will be very curious to notice the effect of his new play. He will start the issue with many enemies but with many admirers. It will be a fight like that over the first realistic plays of Ibsen.

Dr. Saddlemyer points out in *J. M. Synge and Modern Comedy*, this prophecy was proved correct by an outburst of disapproval expressed in terms of Victorian terms. Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Fein, described it as a story "of unnatural horror and unnatural lust, told in language", adding: "As a play it is one of the worst constructed we have witnessed." Padraic Pearse, the future editor of *An Claidheamh Soluis*, expressed his reaction in less violent terms:

The Anglo-Irish dramatic movement has now been in existence for ten years. The result has been the spoiling of a number of poet in Mr. Yeats, and the generation of a sort of Evil Spirit in the shape of J. M. Synge.

We must add that Pearse became later an admirer of the work of both Yeats and Synge.

Dr. Saddlemyer draws particular attention to the years Synge spent in Germany and France:

his wide knowledge of Continental drama. Consequently in all his writings Ireland is set against the background of Europe, the Irish theatre movement viewed in terms of the history of world drama. Synge declared that "our plays must be literature first . . . and drama afterwards", a significant statement, which could have been discussed in this survey. In spite of his realism, Synge expressed in his comedies the sheer joy of life, though aware always of the fear of the loneliness of age and the inevitable coming of death. Dr. Saddlemyer finds as the prevailing theme throughout the plays "the conflict within his characters between the life surrounding them and the dream of escape into a world of beauty and joy which cannot wither". Despite his romanticism, "Synge's ironical vision of life could turn the hero

Bygone Wales

KEIDRYCH RHYS (Editor): *Wales*. Nos. 1–11, Summer, 1937 to Winter, 1939-40. 310pp. Frank Cass. £6 6s.

This welcome reprint is the seventh in the Cass series of "English Little Magazines". It comprises what may be called the first phase of *Wales*, for, in common with many productions of its kind, *Wales* suspended publication soon after the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, and despite a shot at continuance by means of a "Wartime Broadsheet" had to wait four years for a revival. The years 1937-39 had been propitious for editors in Wales, with an abundance of young writers who could have filled both *Wales* and *The Welsh Review* twice over. Mr. Keidrych Rhys's jaunty, defiant and impressive

Dylan Thomas, Glyn Jones, Idris Davies, and Vernon Watkins, all of whom remained regular contributors. They were joined later by most of the significant Welsh writers in English, and a miscellany of English writers in English. *Wales* was always strong on poetry, and the open platform it provided for authors of different kinds and abilities did fine service to the cause of poetry in Wales. Mainly by reason of the poems and stories contributed by Dylan Thomas, the original numbers have long been collectors' pieces. It is an overwhelming economic argument for the support and purchase of little magazines when they are alive, not dead, that these first eleven numbers of *Wales* could in their editor's hour of need have been purchased for an outlay of 7s. 6d. post free. That is one thought. That history repeats itself is another.

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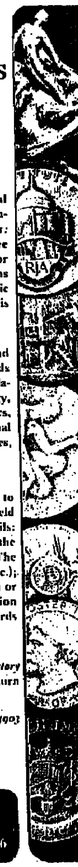
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Florence from gentle to stern

MARVIN B. BECKER: *Florence in Transition*. Volume 1: 233pp. Volume 2: 275pp. Johns Hopkins Press, London: Oxford University Press. £4 11s. 6d. each.

GEORGE HOLMES: *The Florentine Enlightenment 1400-50*. 274pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2 15s.

One of the most influential writers on the Renaissance today is Professor Hans Baron influential in two ways. In the first place he has focused the attention of historians on Florence in the early fifteenth century and on its "civic humanism". Secondly, he has advanced a political explanation for changes in ideas, relating the revival of antiquity to the "crisis of liberty" around 1400, when the independence of Florence was threatened by the rise of Milan. Both the books under review show the impact of the "Baron thesis"; both suggest modifications of it.

Professor Becker is also interested in civic humanism and political crisis, but in the fourteenth century. He argues that about 1350 there was a shift from one set of social ideals to another: from the "gentile paideia" to the "stern paideia", from "lasser faire" to "puritanism", from private ideals to public ones. Some contrasts between early and late fourteenth-century Florence are well known: the change in taste between Giotto and Orcagna, for example; or the fact that before 1350 sermons tend to stress love, whereas after 1350 they tend to stress penitence. The interest of *Florence in Transition* is that he describes political changes too, and relates them to the others. He notes that in the 1330s laws against prostitution were not often enforced; but they were strictly enforced in the 1360s. Public spending increased; so did control over the countryside outside Florence, the *contado*; so did the number of civil servants. In general, the state became more powerful.

Why did these changes occur? It has been argued persuasively by Professor Meiss that the changes in art and theology were a reaction to the Black Death. Professor Becker stresses 1343 rather than 1348; he says oddly little about the plague. What interests him is the beginning of the democratization of Florentine political life with the entry of the *novi cives*, new men from the *contado*. He sees the gentile paideia as the regime of the old oligarchy, the stern paideia as the regime of the new men. The rise of the state, he points out, went with the decline of the aristocratic clan, the *consorteria*. In other words, there were social changes behind the political ones. He does not explain why the new men should have been more puritanical than the oligarchs. Instead, he argues that there were general psychological changes at this time, "the shift of the centre of moral gravity from the individual to society", the rise of "a civic definition of self". He illustrates this change from literature; the shift from the world of Boccaccio's stories where the individual triumphs over society, to that of Sacchetti's stories, where the individual triumphs the individual.

It would be unfair to reproach Professor Becker for not having proved his case up to the hilt: the two volumes under review are only part of his ambitious project. Yet some reservations must be expressed: the terms "gentile" and "stern" and such related concepts as "individualism" and "puritanism" never receive definitions as precise as they need, and they are extended to cover inappropriate facts. Thus the relaxation of paternal authority turns up as part of the stern paideia, and the interiorization of religious feelings figures as part of the shift from private to public. In fact, what Professor Becker identifies as a shift from private to public might perhaps be seen as a shift from some kinds of public object (the extended family, the Church) to another one, the state. Again, one wonders whether the gentile-stern and private-public dichotomies are strong enough to bear the weight of explanation which they carry, and whether others should not be called in to help: ascription-achievement, for example.

Professor Becker describes his methods as "flexible and impressionistic". This may be no bad thing, though it is a pity he has missed opportunities for using a quantitative approach. However, his approach to evidence does not always inspire confidence. To establish Pucci's "spiritual isolation" he quotes a *nota* poem, as if there were not a long-established tradition of such poetry. Many Sacchetti stories do not seem to stand in such obvious contrast to Boccaccio as the author implies. The discussion of Poggio's dialogue on avarice assumes, without justifying the assumption, that the defence of avarice made by one of the characters in the dialogue represents the views of Poggio himself.

It is very much to be hoped that in one of his forthcoming volumes Professor Becker will devote a chapter to an explicit discussion of the psychological changes which he has tended to take as proven, such as whether the stern paideia was the new state internalized, whether there were changes in the bringing up of children which might explain this, and whether Florentine "political culture" changed significantly as a result. Professor Becker could have written a book more difficult to find fault with had he been more conventional. But we are all in his debt because he chose to take risks and push new insights to their limits.

Professor Becker pushes the Baron thesis back into the fourteenth century. Dr. George Holmes is concerned with Baron's period, 1400-50, but has more doubts about his kind of explanation. In *The Florentine Enlightenment* he offers a lucid, precise cautious and elegant synthesis of recent research on Florentine art and ideas in this period, examining the thought of Alberti, Bruni, Poggio, Valla and others and emphasizing their rational, secular, urban, utilitarian attitudes—their kinship with the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

The most original part of the book is the explanatory part. Dr. Holmes devotes a chapter to the problem of identifying the "atmosphere" which made this enlightenment possible. First, the economic and social explanation is discussed: humanism as the product of a commercial society. This explanation is rejected because it does not help us to see why it was in Florence and not, say, in Genoa, why in the early fifteenth century and not the early fourteenth that humanism developed. Second, there is the Baron thesis: humanism as the product of the crisis of liberty. This too is rejected, because it "does not help very much in explaining the intenser classicism which embraced other, non-political features of the ancient world". Dr. Holmes prefers an explanation in terms of Florence's relation to the papacy. His turning-point is not 1343, 1348 or 1375-78, when Florence was [illegible] with the Pope and under [illegible] Florentine disillusionment [illegible] ecclesiastical authority, he [illegible] underlay their enlightenment [illegible] the argument takes an unexpected turn. Dr. Holmes also [illegible] emphasis on a Florence-Rome [illegible] cultural axis on the fact that [illegible] between 1400 and 1450 [illegible] between Florence and the [illegible] were especially close. Such [illegible] humanists as Alberti, Poggio, Valla were members of the curia; Brunelleschi's change of style [illegible] can be explained by the influence of Roman architecture.

This third possible explanation, the Florentine enlightenment involves difficulties no less great than the others do. In the first place, there is the internal inconsistency of the argument. Florence's relations with Rome in the 1330s and her good relations with Rome in the 1420s are both invoked to explain the rise of the movement. If emphasis is placed on the bad relationship, there is the problem that disillusionment with Rome could take different forms: Savonarola and Luther were both disillusioned with Rome than Bruni and Valla. If emphasis is placed on the Florence-Rome axis, then it makes sense to ask why there was not a Roman enlightenment rather than a Florentine one. Perhaps there is more future in another kind of social explanation. One might look at fifteenth-century Florentine humanists as a distinctive status group, the first lay intellectuals, close to the ruling class but not of it, and relate their ideas to their position.

The Florentine Enlightenment is a pleasure to read, and there are thirty-two pages of well-chosen plates. It can be heartily recommended to the general reader as well as to the student of the Renaissance.

Remythification

EDGAR WIND: *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*. 345pp. Faber and Faber. £5 5s.

This new and enlarged edition of Professor Wind's *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, first published in 1958, ends with an apology for "a book devoted to a manifest eccentricity". The eccentricity is the author's way of describing his ground of opposition to historians ("many of them admirable") for their emphasis upon the commonplace in history: and against it, as a surer explanation of Renaissance art, much of his book is devoted. You cannot, he says, understand much of the work of the great Italian artists without the leading themes of their philosophy being clarified: but that clarification demands a recognition of the unexpected, the mystical, the genuinely significant—in fact the legacy of the Orphic, Pythagorean and earlier medieval philosophies.

The extraordinary learning of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reflected in Pico della Mirandola, Ficino, Raphael and masters of cryptic expressions like the Ferrarese scholar Calcagnini, is a constant wonder for its erudition and sheer intellectual power; but while it interprets and reveals, it also demonstrates the great continuity of Platonic and neo-Platonist thought. This thought is not necessarily as its original authors viewed it, for it is more poetic, more hidden and more elaborate: classical thought indeed, but suffused, as Pico was to appreciate it, with that "Asiatic richness" which he so much admired in Proclus. And it requires a mystagogue to help a modern student.

Here, as we said some ten years ago, here indeed he is; grown more learned, if that is possible, more careful in interpretation (may we cite Titian's "Ancient and Profane Love", a title once so smartly rebutted by Professor Wind), more anxious to illustrate and defend the argument buttressed by early Greek learning as much as by poets like Spenser and Ben Jonson; the writing castigated, but expanded too, by a grasp of what the Platonic tradition meant to the period as a whole. *Nec mysteria quae non recolta*, as Pico said; the "stubborn pedantry of Renaissance mystagogues" has to be broken through, but the striking thing is that it could be, by Ficino at any rate (for Pico is extremely difficult), expressed in a language which has something of the quality of Dante: it is crystal clear and the metaphors flutter like the green flag at Verona; but, as one reads it, it means so much more. How much more? The problem is there and our guide must help by his knowledge of the easel as well as of the poet's heart.

He does so in two ways; mechanically, by further illustration in clear, brilliant impressions, adding more line-drawings, and changing the order when material is added to the 1958 edition; by the use of appendixes, notably on "Gafurius and the Harmony of the Spheres" and the National Gallery "Cycle of Love" by Veronese; and in exegesis, by the virtuosity of his treatment of the Graces (Seneca's and Pico's) where stoic liberality has changed to "a symbol of love inviting celestial meditations". Professor Wind's original chapter "Orpheus in praise of blind love" stands substantially as it was, for the next chapter "Virtue reconciled with Pleasure" shows how the neo-Platonists, as a whole, presented a more moral view of the voluptuous life, as in Raphael's "Dream of Scipio", than the ordinary hedonist, so that Botticelli, in the interpretation of Mercury in the "Primavera" and the central figure of the "Birth of Venus" seems to transcend the proprieties of Ficino and Pico: Professor Wind is never dazzled by the great master and his pupil.

Yet there has to be much exegesis where other illustrated themes, like those of love and death, are concerned. It is not only *pulchritudo, casitas, amor, or pulchritudo, amor, voluptas*, in their admixtures and permutations, that reflect, in paint or medallion, the aspects of the sensitive, aesthetic life: Love is also blind. Love is the God of Death. As Lorenzo de Medici said, "the beginning of the *vita amorosa* proceeds from death, because whoever lives, for love, first dies to everything else". There is, in a Renaissance sculptor like Michelangelo, a desire to combine the opposites: the modern with the antique, forms of imitation with the original: "a Bacchic with a socratic spirit, the symposium of Plato and the Bacchic passages in the Phaedrus". These were, by the sixteenth century, the venerated models. But more, in what Professor Wind calls the "Alcibiadic Spirit", especially in the Bacchus, and in Michelangelo's figure as his pupil Condivi saw it, the mysteries showed themselves as both destructive and consoling. In ever-changing forms the God is revealed: the One is inherent in the many.

This combination of opposites brings us to Cusanus, perhaps the master of Renaissance neo-Platonist philosophers, the embodiment of the *coincidentia oppositorum*. God, reality, has many names. All, says Professor Wind quoting the *De docta ignorantia*, are but the unfolding of the one ineffable name: and, finding so far as the name truly belonging to God is infinity, it embraces innumerable such names derived for particular perfections. One of the most interesting features of this 1968 edition is its evidence of how long and how carefully Professor Wind has pondered over the resemblance and affinities between the spirit, as well as the letter, of the *Dotta ignorantia* and the essential Platonic message as displayed by the Italian philosophers. This similarity cannot be proved, however likely it may be, and however much early critics may claim to have discovered it. A valuable appendix, "Cusanus in Italy", brings us as near to the truth as we may get. Pico has the *complicatio* and the *explicatio* doctrine, and others very nearly the pantheism which the Christian philosophers must need avoid; but not quite: for all their poetry and imagination, these masters were too cautious. They blended neo-Platonism with the true individuality of Christ.

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Revaluation

SYDNEY ANGLO: *Machiavelli: A Dissection*. 300pp. Gollancz. £2 28s.

There is no lack of books on Machiavelli. As the author of this one remarks on his final page, "it is doubtful that the normal human life span is sufficient to enable anyone to read them all". Fortunately, *Machiavelli: A Dissection* is a member of a smaller and more significant class—that of the books on Machiavelli which are actually worth reading.

The early chapters are the most conventional. One on Machiavelli's political experience, one on the *Prince*, one on the *Discourses*—these are competent summaries of recent research, enlivened by Dr. Anglo's contempt for controversies about the exact dating of the *Discourses*, and for attempts to put together a picture of Machiavelli's early life. More original, and more wilful, are the chapters on the *Art of War* and on the literary works. The *Art of War* is dismissed as a "medieval compilation"; Dr. Anglo argues his case in detail, but does not refer the reader to any reasoned statement of the other side—Professor Felix Gilbert's, for example. Again, *Mandragola* is dismissed on the grounds that "the action of the play lacks tension of any kind" and that "characterization is rudimentary, haphazard and inconsistent". Inconsistencies there certainly are, but because the play is lively and fast moving, it can be effective on the stage. One wonders whether Dr. Anglo has ever seen the play performed. Again, he fails to refer the reader to any well-reasoned opposite view, such as Professor John Hale's. The most penetrating remarks about a single work of Machiavelli's are those on the *Florentine History*, both favourable and unfavourable. It is suggested that the author was unable to dominate his sources, but that this is of all his books the one with fewest illusions and contains "the most remarkable passage that Machiavelli ever wrote" (book three, chapter thirteen), Florentine ruling and propertied class put into the mouth of an ancient leader of the have-nots in [illegible]

Three chapters are devoted to general themes. There is a useful discussion of two key-concepts in Machiavelli's, *fortuna* and *virtù*, and two brilliant chapters, the best in the book, entitled "Realism" and "Method". The chapter on realism argues that Machiavelli was at once quite unrealistic. His work is marked by "enthusiasm" for the Roman Republic and the German free cities which leads him to suspend his usually low view of human nature. The chapter on method is devoted to showing that Machiavelli had no method, that he was an intuitive thinker, not a methodical one. This chapter also contains a fascinating exploration of the connexions between Machiavelli's style and his thought, more particularly his love of the disjunctive formula: "mercenary captains are either capable men or they are not", for example. Machiavelli had no time for the middle way, whether in analysis or in action.

Dr. Anglo's admiration for Machiavelli is well this side of idolatry, and it is not until the last chapter that one can be sure how he admires Machiavelli at all. All the way through the black marks pile up—"pretty poor stuff", "faulty argumentation", "mere rag-bag", Machiavelli is by turns "an imaginative traditionalist", "facile", "unable to make up his mind", just plain "confused". He is guilty of "obtuseness", "inability to define his own terminology", and "slipshod thinking". Dr. Anglo, who is writing a book on the duel, seems to be handier with the rapier than with the scalpel. Too much energy is expended on glancing blows, though there are some palpable hits.

In 1869, Dr. Anglo tells us, the Florentines celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of Machiavelli's birth by the erection of a monument, by a literary reunion, and by the performance of a [illegible] They might do worse than celebrate his five-hundredth anniversary by commissioning a translation of [illegible]

Recapitulations

BOLDIZSÁR: *Doing England with a Giraffe*. Translated by Mary Kuttna and Bertha Gaster. 239pp. Macmillan. £2 10s.

[illegible] Boldizsár is the editor of the [illegible] *Hungarian Quarterly*, and his [illegible] *Találtad Angliában* was published in Budapest in 1965. "Mr. Boldizsár's book is quite impressive [illegible] as it is: a pleasant, civilized and [illegible] account of a five weeks' visit to Britain. It is, however, even [illegible] expensive for what it is not and [illegible] as easily might have become. [illegible] has been published a few years ago: [illegible] first certainly not a propaganda [illegible]. . . . It is a writer's personal [illegible] version of Britain, and it is a [illegible] strong one" (*TLS*, May 20, 1965).

The translation reads very well, [illegible] the author's photographs have been included.

R. BURN: *The Romans in Britain: An Anthology of Inscriptions*. 193pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £2.

This short volume deserves the best commendation both for its [illegible] and its method. It aims [illegible] only at reproducing in an accessible form the inscriptions which form the basis of our knowledge of Roman Britain. . . . The selection is comprehensive and felicitous". and the commentary is everywhere fresh and vigorous" (*TLS*, May 5, 1932).

The second edition has been revised, revised and enlarged to take account of discoveries during the last thirty-seven years. Mr. Burn has not extended our only criticism of the first edition by adding references to the sources of the inscriptions.

R. G. COLLINGWOOD and IAN RICHMOND: *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*. 350pp. and 26pp. of plates. Methuen. £4 4s.

Collingwood's classic has been out of print and out of print for many years, though it has remained in use as the only systematic treatment of the whole subject. "He has produced a handbook, intentionally elementary yet especially useful to the expert, and there is no simple matter. Each chapter is a bibliography, each plate a synthesis" (*TLS*, December 18, 1969).

This new edition was revised and enlarged by Sir Ian Richmond before his death in 1965, with a chapter on Roman Ware by B. R. Hartley. The book was seen through the press by R. R. Wilson, and should now be good for another thirty or forty years.

H. DRONKE: *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*. Volume 1: *Problems and Interpretations*. 331pp. Volume 2: *Medieval Latin Love-Poetry*. pp. 334-603. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £6 6s. the set.

Dronke's book, which was first published in 1965, is "an extremely learned survey of both familiar and unfamiliar, even unedited material" [illegible] the texts themselves, together with Dr. Dronke's accurate and elegant prose translations, do not always [illegible] the weight of the interpretative [illegible] that follow" (*TLS*, April [illegible] 1969).

For the second edition, "nearly every text" has been checked against the manuscripts and a new preface has been added. The new preface attempts to clarify the notion of "a literary experience" by limiting its points of reference to lyric poetry, but Dronke defends his comparative approach as the method best suited to the diversity of the material. There are critical notes on *Foebus abierat, Ecce conplinxit, Cantant omnes volucres, Graiissima, Iam entrena [illegible], and Vitus et allaquium.*

The Arnim Affair

GEORGE O. KENT: *Arnim and Bismarck*. 213pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £2 2s.

The Arnim affair in 1874-76 was a world-wide cause célèbre now largely forgotten except by historians and Bismarck's biographers. It nevertheless deserved to be recalled to memory if only for the outstanding example it affords of Bismarck's methods in ridding himself of a rival, while simultaneously ensuring the future maintenance of strict discipline and obedience to instructions in the German Foreign Ministry and Diplomatic Service by the warning implicit in the disgrace and ruin of the former German Ambassador in Paris, Count Harry von Arnim-Suckow. Mr. Kent's interesting book, *Arnim and Bismarck*, contains a clear and impartial account based on the German Foreign Ministry files of Arnim's three trials on charges first of misappropriation of secret diplomatic documents and subsequently of high treason lese-majesty and disciplinary offences against the Imperial Chancellor and Foreign Ministry, of which he was found guilty by the Supreme Court (*Kammergericht*) and sentenced to five years in prison.

The human drama of Arnim's downfall understandably aroused fierce partisan emotions in his contemporaries, yet historically it is of secondary importance to the bitter conflict between Bismarck and Arnim over matters of policy which began in 1869-70 at the time of the First Vatican Council, when Arnim was Prussian Minister to the Holy See, and continued throughout Arnim's stay in Paris from 1871 to 1874, with steadily mounting mutual irritation and enmity until his recall and subsequent arrest and trial. Of this envenomed controversy, in which Bismarck does not invariably appear politically the most farseeing, and at times resorted to an unscrupulous manipulation and even suppression of facts, Mr. Kent gives the best and most judicious account so far, and in the course of which he illuminates Bismarck's policy in regard to the First Vatican Council foreshadowing the coming *Kulturkampf*. He also touches upon Bismarck's attitude to French domestic affairs such as the French bishops' condemnation of Bismarck's treatment of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, the monarchist movement in France and Thiers's fall and replacement as President by Marshal MacMahon. Mr. Kent scrupulously reproduces Arnim's political views from his diplomatic correspondence which he considers reveals that Arnim's

judgment of people and events was, in some instances, as good as and sometimes better than Bismarck's, but was marred by the extravagant style of his reporting, by his inappropriate comments, and his impolitic recommendations.

The conflict between Bismarck and Arnim in reality arose less out of personal rivalry—Arnim was never seriously regarded as a replacement for Bismarck in the conduct of German affairs—than out of Arnim's flagrant insubordination as an ambassador. He persistently ignored Bismarck's contrary instructions in pursuing his advocacy of a monarchical restoration in France and in his opposition to Thiers, whose policy he told Bismarck was creating disunity among Frenchmen—a remark that moved Bismarck to write on the margin of Arnim's dispatch the pertinent question "Should we work for their unification?" Moreover Arnim did not disdain making anonymous use of foreign newspapers in pursuance of his campaign against Bismarck and Mr. Kent states "the suspicion that Arnim used his official knowledge and influence for stock-market speculation was, and still is, very strong". But he adds that "Bismarck's actions in this case were not much less devious".

Arnim himself was the chief architect of his own ruin by committing, in his exaggerated self-esteem and arrogance, high-handed and even illegal actions that finally placed him at Bismarck's mercy. When leaving Paris Arnim took with him no fewer than eighty secret documents from the Embassy archives, and when subsequently asked by the Foreign Ministry to return them he sent back only seventeen in all because he alleged that the remainder were either his private property or could not be found among his papers. At the time of his first trial in 1874 Arnim without awaiting the verdict fled to Switzerland and in 1875 published in Zurich a pamphlet entitled *Pro Nihilo. The Prelude to the Arnim Trial*, which contained not only the text of eight secret diplomatic documents and revealed the contents of ten others but also a violent attack on the German law courts, Bismarck, and, worst of all, on Kaiser Wilhelm I. It was this publication that led to Arnim's prosecution and condemnation for high treason and lese-majesty. Arnim never returned to Germany and died at Nice in 1881 without having served his sentence.

Insubordination and differences with Bismarck over matters of policy might not have sufficed to bring such dire consequences upon Arnim if it had not been that Wilhelm I was involved in the struggle. Mr. Kent sees this struggle as essentially a struggle for the Kaiser's confidence. Without that confidence Bismarck's undisputed mastery would have vanished and he could not have remained in office. But Arnim as ambassador regarded himself as the personal representative of his sovereign entitled by customary right to immediate access to the Kaiser at all times and made use of this privilege to advance his own views and adversely to criticize the Chancellor's policy. Circumstances thus forced Bismarck to crush Arnim remorselessly in the interest of orderly government and to make of his downfall a minatory example. "A deficient David", as Mr. Kent aptly sums up the Arnim affair, "fought a brilliant Goliath—and lost." Ten years later Houston, who had played a part in Arnim's disgrace that is still a matter of historical controversy, confided to his diary that Arnim was the last person to entertain the notion of replacing Bismarck. Bismarck's drastic handling of the Arnim affair had produced its desired result.

Hitler and the bureaucrats

HANS MOMMSEN: *Beamtentum im Dritten Reich*. 246pp. DIETER PETZINA: *Autarkiepolitik im Dritten Reich*. 204pp. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. DM 9.80 each.

Historians have lately been paying increasing attention to the internal politics of the Third Reich, in contrast to the earlier emphasis upon the dramatic events of the Nazi military and diplomatic policies. These two works are both produced by the Institute of Contemporary History in Munich, which aims to publish incisive studies, shorter than the usual voluminous tomes of German scholarship, concentrating upon particular aspects of the Nazi experience. Hans Mommsen has in *Beamtentum im Dritten Reich* produced the first study of the place of the civil service in the Nazi era. Half the book consists of documents. The extended essay introducing them does much to illuminate the conflicts and rivalries between the racial and revolutionary totalitarianism of the Nazis and the wishful thinking of an elitist group of civil servants who gave their support to the Nazi takeover in what was a true *trahison des clercs*.

Mommsen's treatment is too short to give any case-studies, and the human dimension of these conflicts is only briefly referred to. Instead he concentrates on the attempts to control the machinery of the civil service, in particular its control over appointments, and the vigorous feuds that ensued between the politically-motivated party officials and the solid core of trained officials. The former hoped to combine the Prussian tradition of efficient administration with Nazi political dynamism; the latter saw their integrity threatened and their career structures ruined. Both sides appealed to Hitler, who refused to satisfy either. In the end there were not enough qualified Nazis to take all the higher posts of administration, but the non-Nazis found themselves pushed aside from the machinery of power, and degraded to bureaucrats, unable to prevent Germany from going to her doom.

Dieter Petzina's *Autarkiepolitik im Dritten Reich* illustrates the same features in the economic sphere. Businessmen readily fell for the illusion that the Nazis could achieve both political as well as economic success by policies of extreme nationalism. In any case an introspective self-contained autarky had many supporters as a remedy for Germany's economic ills long before Hitler required it for his own purposes. The *Vierjahresplan*, which is the focus of this work, was designed to impose a militarily oriented, planned economy on top of the private enterprise system. The resulting conflicts between the industrial firms, the civil service, the army and the party structures vitiated much of the idea. Petzina's essay fortunately concentrates more on the political issues than on the economic results, and his statistics are kept to a reasonable level. He discounts the idea that the Plan was primarily designed for aggressive purposes, still less that Hitler was forced to go to war in order to obtain his economic goals. In Petzina's view, the search for autarky was prompted by the western powers' threat of sanctions against Italy during the Abyssinian crisis. Hitler was resolved not to allow his freedom of action to be thus threatened or curtailed. Economically, the Plan's success was limited; but the propaganda results were effective enough to let Hitler do what he wanted, at the time of his own choosing.

The Austrian Anschluss

DIETER WAGNER and GERHARD TOMKOWITZ: *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer!* 392pp. Munich: Piper. DM25.

This is an account by two journalists of the seven days from March 9 to 15 inclusive in 1938 during which the first Austrian Republic was swallowed by Hitler's Germany. It is based upon all the obvious documents, but also upon consultation with many of the survivors. On the whole the account is clear and accurate, and it comes alive. From a scholar's point of view, however, it is unsatisfactory. As there are no footnotes one never knows the exact authority for any one statement, although one is given a list of the possible sources.

What a fantastic situation it was in which when Schuschnigg decided to hold a plebiscite in the country of which he was the leading Minister, his German neighbour (who had guaranteed Austria's sovereignty) should use this decision not only as a pretext for intervention, but also as a pretext for the annexation of Austria! Having at last made up his mind, Schuschnigg tardily put out feelers towards the Austrian Socialists whom Schuschnigg's predecessor, Dollfuss, had suppressed. As so often happened in the history of Hitler, this meant that innocent people against whom he longed to take cruel action had been lured from their hiding-places just in time to betray them to the Nazis. Hitler's immediate pretext, incidentally, in addition to Schuschnigg's plebiscite plan, was a claim that the Reds in Austria were stirring up violence when in fact they were not within sight of the strength to be able to do so.

One would have liked to know exactly why Hitler sat back and left it to Göring (all on the telephone) to present ultimata to Austria and then to coerce Schuschnigg's successor, the ambivalent Seyss-Inquart, into appearing to ask for German military intervention. In fact the authors of this book maintain—it is already an accepted view—that Seyss-Inquart never actually asked for German intervention—which he neither wanted nor needed. There is much emphasis upon Hitler's assertion that he did not think of absorbing Austria into Germany until he got to Linz on Saturday, March 12, and received more applause from the Austrians than he had anticipated. Naturally it suited Hitler to say, even to think, this; but there can be no doubt that there would in any case have been a whole-hog annexation of Austria, for, to him, it had never been anything but a part of Germany perverted and disguised by the Habsburgs and the Jews. Further, the Nazi system, in so far as it was one, was a system of rigid centralization with no room for local autonomies.

The description of the weakness shown by both France and Britain, in spite of the efforts and understanding of their Ministers in Vienna, is fair enough, as is also the account of the Hitler-Mussolini correspondence and the doctoring of Hitler's letter to the Duce which had been indiscreet about Czechoslovakia. But there is at least one statement that is unfair; that is the one that suggests that Ulrich von Hassell was a Nazi at heart. He was no more that than Adam von Trott. The fact that Herr Wagner and Herr Tomkowitz spell his very simple name wrong makes one wonder about their accuracy in general, returning at the same time to one's discomfort at not being supplied with exact references to their copiously recorded sources.

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S.S. v Oradour

JENS KRUSE : *Madness at Oradour*. Translated by Carl Malmberg. 179pp. Seeker and Warburg. 32s.

Oradour is one of the first names in our modern martyrology. One might have thought the tale so familiar that it needed no retelling. On June 10, 1944, a detachment of German S.S entered the village of Oradour-sur-Glane, in the Limousin, the green heart of Central France where, until then, the war had been scarcely more than a rumour. They rounded up the inhabitants in the market place; then, after separating the men from the women and children, driving the first into barns, the second into the church, shot them or burned them alive. The victims numbered 642, the survivors were a scant handful who had succeeded in hiding or who had happened to be away from home. The whole operation, seemingly, was as wanton as it was appalling.

Jens Kruse—a Dane who is a former assistant professor at the Sorbonne and who, during the war, led a section of the Resistance in his own country—has rehearsed the facts in careful detail in *Madness at Oradour*, but he has done something more. By placing them in a context which has its own hideous rationality and by including an account of the trial that took place eight and a half years later he has intensified the horror of the story. Briefly, Professor Kruse suggests, with supporting evidence, that the massacre at Oradour was intended not as a reprisal—there were no F.F.I. in the village—but as an exercise intended to restore the sagging morale of troops who, on their way up from south-west France towards Normandy, had been constantly harassed by units of the Resistance.

Orders from headquarters said that maquisards and also their accomplices were to be treated with the utmost ruthlessness; local commanders were given virtually total freedom to strike back; Major Dickmann, who directed the company of the "Das Reich" Division of the S.S. which wiped out Oradour, was smarting over the kidnapping by the Resistance of a fellow officer and friend. Given the circumstances and his training it is possible to believe that he felt an interlude of murder and looting was just what his troops needed. Indeed, an entry made a week later in the diary of General von Brodowski's staff, reported that "the undertaking of retaliatory measures has brought about a remarkable relief of tension".

What were the soldiers who undertook them? Sadists? Monsters? For the most part they were seventeen and eighteen-year-old conscripts from occupied Alsace, with deserters from Russia. When, after the tortuous delays to which French justice seems particularly liable, the trial opened there were only twenty-one men to put in the dock, only seven of them were Germans, and only one of those seven of commissioned rank—and, at that, no higher than a warrant officer. The rest were Frenchmen, that is to say Alsatians, who had been conscripted into the S.S. Six had deserted as soon as the detachment got to Normandy. The only S.S. volunteer among them had been a sergeant.

The details of the original sentences, of protest and counter-protest, of the amnesty law which resulted in the release of all the Alsatians, except the sergeant, who had been sentenced to death, seem hardly relevant. What makes "God have mercy on us all" the only adequate comment is the fact that, during the years between the massacre and the trial, the young Alsatians who had been pushed into the Hitler Youth at fourteen, to go on into the S.S., had grown up into good citizens, decent husbands and fathers, honest craftsmen respected by their neighbours.

Britain v United States

REGINALD HORSMAN : *The War of 1812*. 286pp. Eyre and Spottiswoode. £2 15s.

In Britain, when we consider it at all, the War of 1812 is even now regarded, as then, as an illogical and unwarranted attack from the rear made against Britain when she was attempting to stem the floods of Napoleonic autocracy. In the United States the war is something else for, to Americans, this second struggle with Britain clarified the successes of the first, confirmed national integrity and added a substantial group of heroes to the American pantheon. Because this was the only time in America's history as a truly independent nation when a foreign power was able to send its troops ravaging on American soil, the War of 1812 seared into American national pride the scars of humiliation; and, despite the healing power of remembered early successes and of that one glorious and face-saving victory at New Orleans, it is from this war (even more than from the Revolution or the subsequent Irish immigration) and from those scars that one can trace the Anglophobia which is embedded in American political consciousness. (A prejudice that, happily, has been generally held in check by the compensatory Anglophilism which springs from a common cultural heritage and from mutually held principles of common law and parliamentary democracy.)

Even to an historian and even at this range it is difficult to mediate between the two national views, and for this effort of dispassionate judgement Professor Horsman seems better equipped than most of his colleagues. British born, he was trained on both sides of the Atlantic. The promise of dispassion is to a certain extent fulfilled, and at least in establishing the narrative of military and naval events his familiarity with both the British and United States archives and his disdain for the relics of chauvinism the chauvinism of deliberate ignorance on this side of the Atlantic and of exaggerated importance on the other give to *The War of 1812* enormous value. Yet for all its balance and in spite of the ease with which he handles a complicated narrative, his book is in some respects disappointing.

He is suitably critical of the general inefficiency of American military management, and suitably proud of the skill and courage generally shown by America's naval captains. He is properly critical of the complacency shown by the British Government in the first year or so of the war but allows that in military and naval terms Britain was playing, as it were, with a second or even a third team and a much-depleted team at that. But for the national feelings behind the war and their consequences, he seems to have accepted, almost without reservation, American prejudice. Because he is more concerned with events than with ethical judgments he makes but scant reference to the overriding battle of ideals, to the clash of equally admirable convictions that were maintained with equal force and equal validity in the two warring nations—the Americans holding that theirs was the heroic resistance to Britain's vicious disdain for the principle that all men are created equal, and the British insisting that no philosophical figment could be allowed to place in jeopardy the ultimate liberties of all Europe and indeed of all the world. When he does take sides in this debate it is almost always the American point of view that he succumbs to.

There is a further lapse which deepens disappointment with his achievement: Professor Horsman pays too little attention to the fact that there was a third national entity involved in the war, a nation still in embryo. For many of the reasons that make the War of 1812 important to the American today, but with the American taking place of the British as villains of the story—the war is vital to the very Canadian nationhood. like United States, Canada experienced invasion, and the humiliation and pride is almost exactly equivalent that which lingers in American national sentiment. True, along borders many Canadians traded the enemy just as on the other did many New Englanders. the middle of the war the island of Mackinac even made a separate peace treaty with Britain.) But Canada relished, and relish to this day, victories over their neighbours.

The French Canadians, despite their dislike for British and English-speaking Canada and the eagerness to return from military service to their farms (which they shared with many American militiamen), showed even more strenuous distaste for the American—and the first victory of the war at Michilimackinac, was won by a force of French Canadians. Many Canadians were first or second generation refugees; the War of 1812, more than any other event in their history, determined Canadians upon preserving their independence even in the face of the growing power of the United States.

In all history there can scarcely have been a war so farcical. Fought over a cause that was being removed before the first shot was fired, it ended with a battle that took place after the peace treaty had been signed. But if not for Britain then certainly for both the United States and Canada this war was seminal. Professor Horsman may be criticized for his emphasis but none the less *The War of 1812* is the best to date of the, admittedly and surprisingly few serious works devoted to the subject

Greece v Italy

ALEXANDER ALEXANDRAKIS : *The War We Fought*. 212pp. Athens : Papyrus. Available from Hatchard's, London. £7 10s.

When the Italian Ambassador in Athens woke up the Greek Prime Minister on the night of October 28, 1940, to present him with an imprecisely but offensively worded ultimatum, neither he nor his government expected that any serious fighting would result. Admittedly the ultimatum was not meant to be accepted, but simultaneously with its presentation the Italian forces in Albania attacked across the Greek frontiers. It was confidently assumed that their great advantage in numbers and equipment, aided by surprise, would result in a mere military promenade, and Mussolini said he would "resign as an Italian" if anyone made any difficulty about fighting the Greeks. The resulting campaign was one of the most remarkable of the Second World War. The Greeks not only resisted the invasion but advanced into Albania; only the severities of the winter prevented them from clearing the whole country, and only the German invasion next spring rescued the defeated Italians.

This almost forgotten campaign, in which British participation was limited to a few squadrons of the R.A.F., has received comparatively little attention in English histories; the numerous Greek accounts, none outstanding, are generally inaccessible here for linguistic reasons. The value of *The War We Fought*, a book of drawings and paintings by Mr. Alexandrakis, is that it speaks a universal language which conveys to the mind immediately the actualities of the war. It was a peculiarly tough one. The Albanian mountains have a wilder and more unfinished look even than the Apennines, among which the British and Americans fought some of their most embittered battles. They are almost roadless, and the mountain tracks are absurdly precipitous. This has at least the artistic advantage that horses and mules, the basis of the Greek logistics, are available to the artist to evoke memories of earlier battle-pictures.

Mr. Alexandrakis was a corporal in the artillery and served throughout the campaign. "The Greek artillery" said Ciano in his diary, explaining the loss of Koritsa, "is modern and well-handled". It consisted in fact largely of Austro-Hungarian trophies of the previous war but it was certainly handled in proper mountain-gunner fashion. Some of his sketches of gun-positions in the mountains are documents as valuable as a page of commentary in showing what sort of war it was. There are 102 plates of which twenty-two are in colour. Their success varies inversely with the complexity of the medium: the water-colours are more vivid than the oils, and the drawings, which form the majority, are outstandingly fresh and evocative. Most of them were done during intervals of action on odd scraps of paper; the best are distinguished by vigour and intensity and economy of method. Mountains and torrents, men in action, horse artillery on the move: the feeling of an epic incident in history is conveyed in sinuous pencil and virile pen and ink.

The notes to the plates are in Greek, English, French and German. *The War We Fought*, whose production does much credit to the Greek publishers, printers and block-makers, has earned for its author a posthumous prize from the Greek Academy.

NICOLO BARBARO, GIORNALE DELL'ASSEDIO DI CONSTANTINOPOLI . . .

On 29th May, 1453, the Turks captured Constantinople. Today, an English translation of Barbaro's eye-witness account of the siege is being published by Exposition Press, New York, at $4 50. An Exposition-University book.

F.B.I. v K.G.B.

JOHN HUMINIK : *Double Agent*. 189pp. Robert Hale. 30s.
J. BERNARD HUTTON : *Struggle in the Dark*. 208pp. Hurrap. 30s.

Double Agent is not a well written book, but it tells an interesting story. Mr. Huminik is a metallurgical expert who worked in Washington on government projects connected with defence. Over a period of six years he was cultivated by Russian Intelligence agents, but from the start he kept in touch with the F.B.I., and during the period while he was handling over information he was directed by them. After he had kept the Russians in play until the last possible moment the trap was sprung and the agent, operating under the cover of an assistant scientific counsellor in the Russian Embassy, was expelled by the State Department.

The scenario is hackneyed and the business stereotyped; and yet in a way this adds to the interest. It is a new angle to see espionage from the point of view of the source, and not in fiction but in real life. We know about "dead drops" or how, in theory, to shake off a "tail", but it is still exciting to read how it feels to walk up to a telephone pole somewhere in rural Maryland with a can full of microfilmed documents to hide at its foot.

Mr. Huminik is plainly a man with a literal mind and a good memory for detail; his account of innumerable rendezvous gains immensely in realism. The same sense of actuality breathes through the stories of long nights of toil with the Contaflex camera, photographing documents and being careful to include in the background some of the pattern in his tiled floor to give assurance of authenticity.

Mr. Huminik was spotted by one agent, investigated by two others, and finally handed over for exploitation to Valentine Revin, a keen young K.G.B. man. Part of the technique, right from the start, was to subject him on all occasions, even social ones, to a thorough interrogation about himself and all his relations. Part of the reason for this was to see if he was speaking the truth; part was revealed when he was informed that the Soviet authorities had unearthed some relations of his in South Russia, from where his grandparents had come fifty years before. Fortunately he was able to assure his interrogator that whatever happened to relatives so remote, of whose very existence he was totally ignorant, could not possibly affect his behaviour, thus presumably saving two innocent Ukrainians from unnecessary oppression.

This weapon having proved useless, straight financial gain was dangled in front of his eyes, at first in the semi-legitimate form of a Russian buying order for the products of his chemical business but finally in the more direct form of folding money. The main impression left is of the immense amount of time spent in developing the source until this stage was reached.

An agreeable cold shiver must be produced by the realization of how high a proportion of the manpower of Soviet Embassies is engaged in straight espionage of the cruder sort. The concentration of resources in money and equipment is also formidable. But there is a consolation in the reflection that Russian bureaucratic methods, however efficient they may seem, are handicapped by the defects of the Russian mentality and the Soviet system. Mr. Huminik's controller was a K.G.B. agent, but the local G.R.U. man, the representative of Army intelligence, tried once or twice to break into the act, in a manner which is represented as rather heavy-handed. So long as this dualism persists, so long the Russians seem likely to fall short of that perfection in intelligence with which they are generally credited.

Mr. Bernard Hutton, according to his publisher was at one time a member of the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party, later, having changed his politics, he served in the London Embassy under Jan Masaryk. He has written a number of books on Soviet espionage (including one called *Commander Crabb is Alive*) and plainly has built up a remarkable dossier of press-cuttings on the subject. In *Struggle in the Dark* he makes, his effect more by the number of cases he cites than by the individual importance. He contrasts in particular on the overcrowded market for espionage in West Germany. In terms of numbers this is the place where the Russians have made their biggest effort; perhaps because it is easy to recruit German-speaking agents from the East and because access is so easy, the aim seems to be to saturate the Federal Republic with large numbers of low-quality spies rather than employ the highly trained and deep-covered ones who are found necessary in the United States.

It may be he would argue that there are high-powered agents in the country who have not been discovered; perhaps the shotgun spatter of numbers has the secondary purpose of concealing their existence. In any case the reader cannot complain of the lack of big names; Sorge, Abel, the Krogers, Wennerström are trotted out again. The value of the book is, however, in the cumulative effect, particularly in the numerous cases of blackmail. As the Board of Trade guardian of British morals, has recently reminded businessmen, scandalous adventures behind the curtain are the favourite subject for the cameras of the secret police, and it is only rarely that the subject asks for extra prints to take home to his friends.

There is only a short chapter entirely lacking in the pictures and details which adorn the rest of the book, on Chinese espionage. Mr. Hutton maintains that it is much more widespread and efficient than is generally believed, but he gives scarcely be said to have proved it, and his instances—mainly refer to the Philippines. As he acknowledges, it is always best to recruit your agents among trusted fellow-countrymen, except in the Far East, however, Chinese spies are likely to stand out in the crowd more than is healthy, so naturally refusing a profession

Love and friendship

[illegible] : *The Adventures of David Simple*. Edited by Malcolm Kelsall. 436pp. £2 2s.
[illegible] : *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner Written by Himself*. Edited by John Carey. 262pp. 30s. Oxford University Press.

[illegible] coincidence the two [illegible] in the "Oxford English [illegible] series both deal with friendship. Sarah Fielding with the need [illegible] Hogg with the nightmare side [illegible] when the bosom companion [illegible] a pride-crazed Scottish [illegible] turns out to be no less fortunate a person than the father of [illegible].

[illegible] Hogg, the self-educated [illegible] poet who mixed with [illegible] and intellectually arrogant [illegible] Romantics, and Sarah [illegible] who had to cope with financial [illegible] and the knife-edge [illegible] of remaining loyal to the [illegible] with antipathetic novelists [illegible] Richardson and her brother [illegible], knew that life can be difficult. [illegible] novels show existences being [illegible] by pride, self-assertiveness [illegible] stupidity. But the means by [illegible] they embody their sombre [illegible] reveal differences which are [illegible] representative of their periods. Sarah Fielding follows her brother's practice of building up a social panorama full of corrupt and threatening elements. Hogg's main character succumbs to the temptations of a devil who externalizes the pride and malevolence which religious extremism has nurtured within him.

The Adventures of David Simple (1744) tells of a virtuous and benevolent young man's attempts to find "a real friend" in the London of his day. His adventures and the stories which successive new acquaintances tell him give Sarah Fielding ample scope for delving beneath the surface of life to lay bare the workings of vanity and hypocrisy which, like her brother, she believed were playing a disastrously large role in contemporary life.

Sarah Fielding is well served in this new edition by Malcolm Kelsall. His introduction is stimulating and he appends to it an interesting account of the textual revisions Henry made for the second edition of his sister's book. Indirectly this demonstrates the large extent to which Sarah and Henry had identical opinions about contemporary society and the function of the new prose form they were creating.

Perhaps, though, it would have been better if Sarah Fielding had mirrored her brother less directly. She shows his tendency to see incidents as the raw material for moral analyses, but lacks his gift for creating continuous narrative. Nor can she illuminate a situation through sentiment as he could. Both the plot and the emotional unity of *David Simple* suffer from her lack of attaining imagination: she is a miniaturist with an essayist's technique: Mr. Kelsall justly compares her to Steele.

In the continuation to *David Simple* ("Volume the Last") which she published in 1753, Sarah Fielding moved closer to the spirit of her friend Samuel Richardson, relying less on plot complications and more on the use of gradually intensifying feeling. David Simple is deprived of family and financial comforts by a long series of catastrophes. He becomes a figure of deep pathos as misfortunes and the caprices of his rich friends hound him towards the grave: each gradation of his distress is recorded with touching emotional simplicity. It is fascinating to see Sarah Fielding absorbing the lessons of Richardson at the same time as Henry was doing so in *Amelia*. In places the situations they create are closely allied in mood and tone. When, for instance, David Simple's wife bravely resolves to sell her wedding ring so that she can buy food for her helpless father the scene could easily pass for one of the touching self-sacrifices of Henry Fielding's finest heroine.

Behind Sarah Fielding's novel lies the late Augustan yearning for true friendship, sympathy and real honesty in a world which seemed to have grown corrupt. David Simple points the way to Mackenzie, Sterne and the cult of sensibility. At times, too, one finds Sarah Fielding putting her own experiences across with greater directness than her brother did before the *Voyage to Lisbon*. There are excellent passages about women's education, the lack of respectable careers for a woman (apart from writing, to which Sarah seems to have been in some degree forced) and a cry against the prostitution of money marriages which would not be out of place in Jane Austen's pages.

It seems a pity that no one at Oxford University Press thought to tell Mr. Kelsall they were preparing a facsimile edition of *The Governess, or Little Female Academy*. Sarah Fielding's pioneering (and delightful) story for children (edited by Jill E. Gray. 1968), which does not appear in his bibliography. Taken together the two books give an excellent picture of this neglected, uneven but very appealing author.

Hogg's novel never sank into total oblivion and there have been distinguished critics to sing its praises. It is generally accounted a masterpiece by those who have read it and may be strongly recommended to those who have not. As a document in the history of Scottish culture, a tale of the supernatural which haunts the reader all the more for being so firmly grounded among recognizable places and people, and a psychological terror story of how an unbalanced character destroys itself from within, it reveals the highest qualities of imagination. John Carey's introduction is one of the few attempts to link Hogg's life and work which have ever been made (let alone succeed - - which it does), and the link between Hogg's novel and Hoffmann's *Die Elixiere des Teufels* which he indicates does much to illuminate the unusual narrative framework of the story. Like other recent writers on Hogg, Mr. Carey demolishes the old claim that J. G. Lockhart had a hand in *The Confessions* with needless energy (and though some of Lockhart's novels are as unsatisfactory as he maintains, "flimsy melodrama" hardly applies to *Adam Blair*). This apart, the edition is admirable, and it is good to have Hogg's masterpiece available once more in so reasonably priced and handsome an edition.

other new novels

[illegible] : *The Old Old Story*. [illegible] Hodder and Stoughton.

[illegible] contemporary anti-heroes, it [illegible] need be hipster-clad junkies [illegible], whose old old story turns [illegible] the one about the failed [illegible] turned domestic desperado, is [illegible] Glaswegian Guinness drinker with [illegible] and several children. Nevertheless [illegible] don't one to let his younger [illegible] steal all the anguish; [illegible] his singular advantage of [illegible] able to lay claim to the title [illegible] old man or dirty middle-[illegible] man, which is almost as good. [illegible] fairness, the story, though old, [illegible] to be often funny, often [illegible] sad, though it might have [illegible] more effective had Cliff Ashby [illegible] to keep the bitterness and [illegible] apart on just a few occasions. [illegible] emotionally dependent on a wife [illegible] no longer loves and children who [illegible] to be outgrowing him, Ernie is [illegible] to let his manic tendencies [illegible] the better of him. The sight of [illegible] poems returning with dispiriting [illegible] is no help, nor is his recent [illegible] adultery. When his wife suggests that he take a trip to London [illegible] order to beard the literary establishment in its den, he jumps at the [illegible], though the result is unexpected.

[illegible]ingly, the book falls down [illegible] at this point. It loses much of [illegible] keenness and wit upon which the [illegible] part of the narrative largely [illegible] and Mr. Ashby seems content [illegible] rely on the dubious effects of [illegible] nature to carry the plot through. [illegible] is bordering to an unusingly told [illegible] and it is a disappointment to discover that the punch-line is hopelessly [illegible].

[illegible] BILLINGTON : *All Things New*. 250pp. Heinemann. 30s.

New York which entertains [illegible] Billington's graceless English [illegible] of a heroine is that documentary [illegible], the city of extremes, the [illegible] where even the most desultory [illegible] will encounter anglophile [illegible] junkies and evidence of [illegible] problem. Kate is escaping [illegible] background, which is upper-class [illegible] between a gardening mother [illegible] an alcoholic and dead father. [illegible] is suitably introduced and [illegible] makes the grade in a world [illegible] slumming, politically aware girls [illegible] the rich men who manage, and [illegible] usually sleep with, them. She [illegible] again, she owns a typewriter [illegible] she's often light, so she is a [illegible] success, obliged to evade passes [illegible] be assured and sneer at some vul[illegible] Jewish gatherings. Predictably, [illegible] is so at commitment too, and [illegible] easily caught up in the problems [illegible] a lonely married to a Negro girl

She undertakes to get the couple cured in a Kentucky hospital and to write an article about it all. She's out of her depth here, though, and relieved though apologetic when the man dies of cancer and his wife returns to her genteel whimpering. She's relieved and apologetic too to discover she loves the dogged Englishman she's been avoiding.

The novel is squalid and unfeeling not for what it reveals about New York but for what New York reveals about its heroine: an empty, glumly swinging chick, who blames her dabbling on a world which accepts her bleakness as fashionable and English and rewards her appropriately.

GEORGE FRIEL : *Grace and Miss Partridge*. 190pp. Calder and Boyars. 30s.

Grace and Miss Partridge live in the same tenement house in Glasgow. To Grace, Miss Partridge is the dotty old lady who lives in the "single end"; Miss Partridge, however, sees more in Grace than the schoolgirl who sometimes runs errands for her—she sees a brand to be snatched from the burning. Encouraged by visions of her father's ghost, she decides to make sure that Grace enters heaven before she is corrupted by the wickedly persuasive ways of men.

George Friel is sufficiently careful to endow Miss Partridge with a past: we know something of her stay in America and her traumatic marriage, so her madness is seen to have a history, rather than seeming to take a sudden grip at a convenient time for the narrative. Similarly, the author's knowledge of children (he is a schoolteacher) helps to make Grace's day-to-day existence more credible, so that her role as a potential murder-victim becomes even more alarming.

For the most part, Mr. Friel is content to play it straight. His accounts of Glasgow low-life, of the thugs who are planning to rob Miss Partridge and of the children who live in the tenements are intimate and confident. In the penultimate chapter, though, the repetitive, linking phrases between sections are a little too ponderous, too consciously clever, and this is true, also, of the chatty tidying-up session, between the narrator and his mother, which closes the book.

DENNIS GUERRIER and JOAN RICHARDS : *State of Emergency*. 269pp. Heinemann. £2 5s. Penguin. 6s.

"Could you govern a new country?" asks the blurb. "Would your decisions be better than those of its Prime Minister?" *State of Emergency* is described as "A Programmed Entertainment", the idea being that, in the course of this story about a newly independent African state, the reader can play a game of political decision-making by answering strategically placed questions, then turning to the appropriate page to discover whether his answer was the right one. The game is pretty tame. There is no chance, for instance, of the reader's wrong decision producing catastrophic results, because the outcome is, inevitably, what the authors have decided it should be. Make a blunder, turn to the page indicated, and you will be politely rebuked and told to try again. A process of elimination soon leads to the correct solution and, after a few words of approval for your astute judgment, you will be invited to "read on".

Very soon, the stern imperatives (do not read this page until told to do so), the constant footnotes pointing to tedious appendixes and the incredibly tiresome reports (simulating officialese all too well) which we are expected to read before making a decision, and re-read should we have chosen wrongly, cease to be even vaguely amusing. The story, of course, could never hope to convince; we know full well that each episode will be followed by the questions, instructions, footnotes, or references to one or another appendix, for which it was designed. The whole thing is boring beyond belief.

HANS HABE : *The Poisoned Stream*. Translated by J. Maxwell Brownjohn. 388pp. Harrap. 35s.

The Poisoned Stream is an attack on the mass media, journalism in particular, and on the cult of youth: worthy subjects; no doubt, if unoriginal; and after nearly 400 wearying pages, the reader might well find himself nodding in drowsy agreement with Mr. Habe, rather as one agrees with a saloon-bar bore, in the hope that he will go away. Mr. Habe, however, does not go away—not until he has nudged us awake in order to force on us the final truism.

Aurelio Morelli, middle-aged novelist and part-time psycho, has an unpleasant habit of celebrating his birthday with a murder. It's rather unfair, after all, that young girls in mini-skirts or pudenda-hugging jeans should flaunt their wares before a compulsive onanist whose first sexual encounter left him embittered and syphilitic. Emilio Bossi, a journalist, uncovers Morelli's secret, but intends to hold the police at bay long enough for Morelli to provide him with a scoop. The narrative is shared between eight people, each of them concerned in some way with the murder or the conspiracy of silence, each of them provided with a laboriously devised individuality of tone which is tailored to their personalities, so that a call-girl remarks: ". . . men are as transparent as a pair of nylon panties". Despite all this, the characters never seem anything more than a front for Mr. Habe's unconvincing, and very long, argument.

GORDON HONEYCOMBE : *Neither the Sea nor the Sand*. 256pp. Hutchinson. 28s.

Gordon Honeycombe's macabre tale rather resembles a romantic novel gone sick. Annie and Hugh, two intense, introverted people, fall in love. During a holiday in Scotland, Hugh suffers a heart-attack and dies. Already the scene is set for melodrama: the heart-attack occurs while the lovers are running along a beach, at night, the wind ominously lulled, the sands ". . . spread again with dark mirrors for the sky . . .", the sea ". . . withdrawn upon itself . . ." And sure enough, it's melodrama we get, and a vocabulary to match.

Though dead, Hugh responds to a force stronger than death (love, naturally) which enables him, or rather his corpse, to remain animate. He can walk after a fashion, and responds to instructions, but his sole focal point is Annie. Together, they return to their home in Jersey where Annie's joy at possessing a devoted cadaver turns to revulsion as she cracks under the strain. She attacks him (it?), runs off, leaving him in their cottage, and is placed in an old persons' home, rather than an asylum, by a sympathetic G.P. who refuses to accept that her catatonic silence is true madness. Meanwhile, Hugh rots quietly away and awaits her inevitable return.

The story might chill the reader's spine more effectively were it not for the novelettish turn of phrase Mr. Honeycombe is so fond of. Telling Hugh's brother of what has happened in Scotland, Annie says: "It's really rather wonderful." With their burning hearts and bright longings at work, it was almost bound to be.

GARTH ST. OMER : *Nor Any Country*. 110pp. Faber and Faber. 21s.

Two things characterized Garth St. Omer's previous novels: a preoccupation with the emotional problems of the West Indian expatriate, and the low-keyed, almost desultory, tone in which the stories were told. As for the former it is a state which Mr. St. Omer understands well and with each novel his ability to convey his insights into the peculiar problems of expatriation has become more evident.

The style, of course, is more than affectation. In this third novel Peter Breville returns from England to the island of his birth, discovers what he already knew at heart that he fits in neither world—and experiences the pain of trying to re-enter a social and emotional milieu he had voluntarily forsaken. His parents, relatives, the wife he deserted, these are the people to whom he can no longer really belong; but it is the style, as much as anything, that supplies the clues. In writing of the lively conversations between reunited friends, of Peter's affection for his mother, or of laughter between father and son, Mr. St. Omer keeps the tone sombre: in each case, it is as if laughter or affection were social conventions in which Peter indulges, while his mind is distracted by their real meanings. This is a way of underlining the character's alienation, certainly, but after a while his quiet, pained abstraction seems improbably prolonged.

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The Tudor saint

E. E. REYNOLDS: *The Field is Won.* 396pp. Burns and Oates. £2 10s.

RAINER PINEAS: *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics.* 262pp. Indiana University Press (American University Publishers Group). £4 10s. 6d.

Mr. Reynolds is the doyen of More scholars in this country. He has already written four books on More and his circle, and is inclined to feel that a fifth requires justification. Most readers will be prepared to trust Mr. Reynolds on this point; if his unremitting research has revealed enough material to justify a new study, so much the better. Nevertheless it is interesting to read through the list of new material in the preface of *The Field is Won*: besides innumerable minor facts rescued from the still unexhausted resources of Tudor documents, there have been several volumes of a complete edition of More's works, a study of his portraiture, a collection of new letters compiled by Dr. Hubertus von Herbrügen, the discovery of the manuscript of More's Latin *Passion* and the annotations in his Psalter. Mr. Reynolds himself has discovered a new and critical transcript of the exchange between More and Richard Rich, one of the main sources of evidence against More at his trial.

With all this, it is not surprising that Mr. Reynolds has felt encouraged to undertake a full-scale biography of More—the first since R. W. Chambers's *Thomas More*, published in 1935. He has produced a readable and comprehensive account, balanced and fair yet tinctured with that warmth and sympathy which cannot be withheld from any consideration of More and his circle. The known facts of his life are all punctually deployed, and much recent specialist research is admirably and conveniently summarized, Mr. Reynolds may lack something of the breadth and generosity of Chambers, but there is a great deal more in his book. Its faults are few: an over-black picture of Wolsey (whose earlier administration More himself praised), a rather perfunctory account of the later writings (too sizable, admittedly, for extended comment)—these are small things to set beside the value of having an up-to-date and accurate record.

Every now and again Mr. Reynolds lets fall some indication of the amount of detailed research he has himself undertaken. The Rich conversation was not a casual find. One unfinished speculation concerns More's stepdaughter, Alice Middleton, who married first Thomas Elrington, and second Giles Allington. When More's daughters were married on the same day (September 29; 1525), it was at Giles Allington's chapel at Willesden. Mr. Reynolds has discovered that the Allingtons owned no property at Willesden, but the Elringtons did, and it was bequeathed in 1577 by a Thomas Elrington to More's grandson, Thomas More of Barnborough. An interesting footnote to the More family history, and typical of Mr. Reynolds's thorough work.

Professor Pineas has produced in *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics* a consecutive version of a group of articles all on the same theme. He has taken the texts of the heretical books which More undertook to answer, and the text of More's rejoinders, and subjected them to a detailed and careful scrutiny to see which stood up best in terms of controversial technique, accuracy, style, and so on. This study yields two important results. First, it shows how little there was to choose between them when it came to playing fair: both sides misquoted, committed *suggestio falsi* and *suppressio veri*, and used every rhetorical trick they could. Secondly, it shows how different and how tin the case of the two major antagonists, More and Tyndale) subtle were the techniques employed.

The longest part of the book deals with the long battle between More and Tyndale, beginning with More's *Dialoge concernynge heresyes* written in 1529 against Tyndale's *The parable of the wicked mammon* and *The obedience of a Christen man*, published the year before, and ending with More's unfinished answer to Tyndale's *The vnper of the Lorde*. On the whole, Tyndale had the best of it. He had the advantage of attacking where More was defending: his use of scripture to mean anything he wanted was novel: and most important, his prose-style—his deeply influential, incomparable style—set a standard of directness and immediacy which made More's own more circuitous (if equally vivid) prose seem a trifle old-fashioned. Here is Tyndale on the Pope's claim to bind and loose in purgatory:

> That I permit unto him: for it is a creature of his owne making. He also byndeth the aungels. For we read of Popes that commaunded the aungels to set divers out of Purgatorye. Howbeit I am not certified whether they obeyed or no.

More's skill lay more in characterization. His skill in engaging the reader's sympathy, his (often disingenuous) moderation in approaching the works of his opponents, his own humility (notwithstanding the confidence he feels in the Church he is defending), all these are immediately attractive. Against all but Tyndale, More has the best of the argument—an astonishing achievement since he was writing at the height of his career, evidently too busy to revise what he wrote.

Thomas More and Tudor Polemics reveals an astonishing sense of detachment, which rarely deserts Professor Pineas.

Detachment is still rare enough in sixteenth-century studies to be praised but there is something almost inhuman in his lack of involvement. Perhaps it would be more credible if the background to the controversial scene were deployed, but too often the book reads as if the texts (and nothing but the texts) had been fed into a computer which sorted them and decided, on some system of dialectical points, who was the winner. We are still too easily impressed by computers. It is remarkable not that they can do a job well, but that they can do it at all. All the same, to enter into the fray of sixteenth-century religious controversy with the express purpose of examining the contestants' arguments without taking sides is a remarkable achievement. Errors are few: the Hunne case is not such a clear case of murder as Ogle (whom he regards as decisive) made out, and Pollard in his *Wolsey* did not commit himself to this view. One misses a little explanation of the subject matter, which would account for More's changes of tactics. Against Frith, More was savage because he was attacking the basis of religion as More understood it; against St. German, much less so since clerical oppression of the laity had been one of the themes of *Utopia* in 1516. Professor Pineas makes a very good point when he shows that More's arguments against Fish's *Supplycacion of the beggars* indicate how well he realized the temptation that the religious estates might be to the king.

Poor More, beset with affairs of state and yet compelled to defend the full front of the Church in England against it. He would hardly have been to blame if he had taken Tyndale's advice to "keepe your tune and unto all thyng syng kokow, kokow, we be the church & can not erre". As it was, he wrote and wrote: the major part of his complete works dates from this period. *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics* has contributed notably to our understanding of this, and of the whole milieu in which it was written.

Botanist abroad

KARL H. DANNENFELDT: *Leonhard Rauwolf.* 321pp. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £3 16s.

Leonhard Rauwolf, after whom the medicinal herb, Rauwolfia (Apocynaceae) was named, a Bavarian physician, botanist and traveller, published an account in Swabian dialect of his travels and observations in the Near East (1573-1575) but little other biographical detail has been available. K. H. Dannenfeldt has now prepared an absorbing biography, written against a contemporary backcloth drawn from other writers.

Rauwolf's early life was spent in Augsburg, a trading and banking centre. Reared in a strong Lutheran tradition which he retained throughout his life, he attended German, French and Italian universities to study medicine and eventually selected Montpellier because of its high reputation. Among interesting details he records that the university students were admitted to limited rights, one of which was that they might "consult with the doctors on what lectures should be given" and have "due regard to the ability of the instructors". Subsequently taking his doctorate at the University of Valence (Dauphiné) he returned to Augsburg to practise. Retaining his interest in field botany and especially in medicinal plants he travelled in Italy and Switzerland and began to prepare an herbarium, now in the Rijks Museum, Leiden.

Later he took a long and perilous journey to the Near East, a delightful account of which forms a major part of the book. Sailing from Marseilles he reached Tripoli after a very stormy passage, proceeded eastwards collecting plants whenever possible, travelling over bare mountains, deserts and through lush valleys where silk was produced and cereals and fruits were cultivated. In Aleppo, which was the great trading centre of North Syria, crowded with merchants and caravans, he observed the preparation and drinking of coffee and the sale in bazaars of many medicinal plants and manna. Travelling for safety as a trader, he eventually reached Mesopotamia, Assyria and Babylonia. The trip down the Euphrates from Birejik was rough and the boat was grounded for a while at Deir where he saw the "strange willow" (in fact, *Populus euphratica*) on which the Israelites hung their harps. Baghdad was a great trading centre for horses, carpets and jewels; the flowers characteristic of a European spring were in bloom in December.

On learning of the financial ruin of the agent in Aleppo whom he represented he returned across the Tigris and followed a newly opened caravan route to Mosul. Then travelling towards over high ranges to the Euphrates and back to Tripoli, just missing imprisonment in Aleppo where his botanical excursions had been suspect. Deeply moved by a visit to the Holy Land, his religious conviction and biblical knowledge are especially evident.

Returning to Augsburg by Venice after a journey lasting thirty-three months, he resumed his medical practice, maintained his botanical garden and wrote the travel book. He died in Augsburg during the religious disturbances of the late sixteenth century and died at Wartzen in 1596. He was an excellent example of the early travellers: deterred neither "by distance . . . by winter or summer . . . nor the traversing of horrid deserts . . . or wild and roaring seas" in their quest for knowledge of peoples, places, customs and plants. Observations on religious practices of the day, translations from the Snake travel book and herbarium, a number lists of plants and their localities as well as a bibliography and detailed notes complete this scholarly work.

The ruffian reconsidered

J. J. SCARISBRICK: *Henry VIII.* 561pp. Eyre and Spottiswoode. £3 15s.

Layman and specialist alike have aired their opinions of Henry VIII. and the range of their verdicts is wide. To an amateur like Charles Dickens, for example, this king was a most intolerable ruffian, a disgrace to human nature, and a blot of blood and grease upon the history of England. To A. F. Pollard, recognized master of Tudor history, whose biography of the king has long been the classic study of this controversial figure, he was the most remarkable man who ever sat upon the English throne.

Some sixty-five years have passed since this judgment was written. They have been years of intensive research into the sources and problems of early sixteenth-century history, much of it done by Pollard and his London school of history; and, naturally, fresh sources have been unearthed and many problems have been raised, calling for a revision of some traditional opinions about the king and his reign. Mr. Scarisbrick is justified in his contention that the additional source materials and the numerous contributions in books and articles now available illuminate many features of the reign, and call for a fresh assessment.

So far so good. Difficulties arise when decisions have to be taken about the architectonics of the new biography. It is always irksome to decide, when dealing with ruling sovereigns, where the dividing line should be drawn between the public and private life of the ruler. Mr. Scarisbrick has solved this problem in *Henry VIII* by following to some extent his own special inclinations. As he says, his book is neither a private life of Henry VIII nor a comprehensive study of his reign. It is, rather, something in between: an attempt to see the king as well as the man, to consider the life not merely in its personal and domestic aspects but also against the background of some select matters which had a very close bearing upon the king's private life. Of course, this means, as Mr. Scarisbrick is the first to admit, that many dominant themes in Henrician history are either not discussed or at best are very briefly dismissed. For example, the numerous constitutional developments (save the effects on the kingship of the assumption of royal supremacy) are ignored, so too are the modifications modern research has introduced into the financial and administrative history of the reign, while the grim social and economic crises of the reign and the material results of the dissolution of the monasteries only receive a passing notice.

The unbalance in treatment can be expressed in another way: roughly speaking, out of a text of more than 500 pages some 300 are concerned with the wars and diplomatic negotiations of the reign, something like sixty deal with the issues connected with the king's divorce, a similar number explain the importance of the royal supremacy, while another forty discuss (admirably) the theological implications of that supremacy and a final thirty pages bring together some general conclusions concerning the king. Thus, it is not unfair to say that this study represents (and there is no reason why it should not) Mr. Scarisbrick's highly selective treatment of Henry VIII's life.

With these qualifications in mind, much that is refreshingly individualistic will be found in this account of the king's activities, and the problems which closely affected his private life, and at the same time influenced the general trends of public policy.

Deserving special mention is the learned chapter on the canon law of the divorce, with its clear-cut exposition of the dialogue concerning the efficacy of papal dispensations and the corpus of medieval commentary on the Levitical texts which Henry and his advisers used as the foundation for their arguments against the validity of the king's first marriage. This account is based on wide and deep reading in a dreary waste of canonical literature, and the results are presented with a clarity which eases the path of the layman trying to grasp the essentials of that debate. Equally satisfying is the account of the long-drawn proceedings at the papal curia in which Henry and Wolsey were so involved, doomed as they were to end in failure, thanks by leading to the next phase in the drama of the reign, Henry's legislative moves against the papacy and the *ecclesia Anglicana*. Mr. Scarisbrick's conclusion is distinctly critical of the king: he makes a strong case for his judgment that Henry himself ruined his chances of success in his negotiations with Rome by rejecting the right arguments.

The specialist will find many problems discussed in *Henry VIII* which will undoubtedly give rise to controversy, and call for further research before confident conclusions can be reached. The general reader will get a portrait of the man which, generally, differs greatly from Froude's idea of the "patriot king", while it is certainly more critical—one recalls almost have said censorious—than Pollard's admiration for a wonder. With much of this new interpretation there can be little disagreement. It is a judicious restatement of traditional ideas blended with a cautious synthesis of some of the more psychological, sexual, and medical theories put forward to explain the workings of this unpredictable character; and the king can be seen emerging from the promise of youth to the disillusion of middle age.

It is a narrative of steady decline from the young hero-king endowed with a powerful physique, good looks, athletic versatility, and above average intellectual gifts, to the oppressing contrast: an aging, rumbustious monarch—highly, strung, unstable, vindictive, opinionated and self-willed—the victim of circumstances very largely of his own making.

Mr. Scarisbrick has made good use of his opportunities, and by dint of serious research, wide reading, and a fluent style has produced a readable account of a perplexing character. Has he said the last word? Perhaps there, indeed, be finality? Perhaps Bishop Burnet had the right answer long ago: "How far king Henry himself, sincere in pretending scruples of conscience with relation to his first marriage, and was passed over for pro-

Indians and British in East Africa

I. MORTIMER-WILSON: *A History of The Asians in East Africa, c. 1886 to 1945.* 316pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £2 15s.

The timely book in the "Oxford Studies in African Affairs" series is a history of the association of the Asian community in East Africa with British ascendancy in West and East Africa. It is admirable for its terse objectivity and lack of current about issues that have inspired political feelings since the beginning of the twentieth century and provides a good basis for a proper understanding of the plight of the Asian communities in the three East African countries that have contributed so much to the making of these countries, and have been so vulnerable since the British withdrew.

The East coast of Africa has been a vital in the network of Indian overseas trade from the earliest times. Indian trade languished during the decline of Portuguese supremacy and revived with the recovery of the Omani influence in Zanzibar of the sultans of Muscat and the establishment of British rule in India and the defeat of British naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean after the Napoleonic Wars. There was a close relationship between the rule of the Asian community in East Africa and the course of events in mainland India, and this lasted from the early days of the Bombay Government in Zanzibar in the middle of the nineteenth century through the whole period of colonial rule in East Africa. The early policy of using Indian immigrants and other Indian immigrants to assist the task of British rule in East Africa led to the adoption in East Africa of Indian laws and systems of administration and finance. The slow process of the adaptation of the Indian community to British laws, institutions and education was always accompanied by the opposition from Indian nationalist leaders in India of Indian demands for equal treatment with Europeans. The "Indian Question" in East Africa meant European resentment and jealousy of Indian economic success. The struggle between the two immigrant communities lasted for many years before the First World War when the Europeans began to assert themselves until the blaze came, just after the Second World War, when African nationalism replaced Indian nationalism and European aspirations to self-government as the motive forces of politics. The African nationalists won the battle over the imperial power but the immigrant European communities the African leaders showed little value on their alliance with the leaders of the Indian community; at this time African nationalists were already primarily motivated by jealousy of the strength of the Indian economic position and they had already determined to assert African paramountcy economically and to end the three-tier system that had prevailed between Europeans, Asians and Africans in trade, industry and the civil service. This counted more with them even before independence was attained than any gratitude they might have felt to Indian leaders for help to Africans in reaching their position of ascendancy. Although the association of Indian merchants with East Africa is very old and dates back to before the European Middle Ages, Indian settlement in East Africa and the great importance of Indian traders, industrialists, artisans, clerks and professional workers are something that is associated in time with British supremacy in India and East Africa and may end soon.

From early in the nineteenth century Indian trade in East Africa was ancillary to British trade and colonial effort. The British established influence in Zanzibar by means of Indian merchants there. By 1860 there were nearly 6,000 Indian merchants in Zanzibar and others had spread all along the East African coast. There was a close relationship between European and Indian merchants, who provided the main banking and financial services available in Zanzibar during most of the nineteenth century and financed trade to the interior, and the early European explorers such as Burton and Speke. After the partition of East Africa between Britain and Germany in 1886, the resources of the British Empire in India were added as an adjunct to the opening up of the interior. The best known example of this was the reliance on Indian resources of men and materials for the building of the Uganda Railway. The numbers were certainly considerable. In the five years from 1896 to 1901 a total of 32,000 indentured Indian workers were recruited. However, allowing for those who died, were invalided home or went home normally at the end of their contract, only about 6,000 coolies stayed on in East Africa. Military reinforcements for service in East Africa came and went and there was a certain amount of recruitment of Indian civilians to subordinate posts in the East African Governments.

The most important part of the penetration of the interior was voluntary immigration of traders. German East Africa shared in this development, and pioneering caravans made their way beyond the borders of German East Africa into Uganda, Kenya and parts of the Congo Free State and the southern Sudan. These pioneer traders were of great assistance to governments in such matters as transport, the purchase of local produce and supplies of officers to outstations. The bigger men played an important part in building up Mombasa and Nairobi and the smaller men pioneered the establishment of local trading centres and Indian bazaars. Even when official policy switched from the encouragement of Indian immigration to the encouragement of European settlement, Indian voluntary immigration continued unchecked for subordinate employment, commercial enterprise and skilled artisans. The Indians' entrepreneurial skills enabled them to help the country and the government in many different ways by opening up the Reserves and helping the transition to a money economy. In Uganda small Indian traders were the first to undertake virtually all the purchase and collection of the cotton crop when production began in 1903.

The character of Indian settlement was largely shaped by political and racial controversies generated by the conflicts between European and Indian immigrants. The fields laid down in the three-tier system were broadly commerce and subordinate employment, and they were left to the Asians because no European could compete in them. Political capital was early made against the Asians on the ground of insanitary and overcrowded conditions in the Indian areas. Other allegations were unfair methods of trading and being a bad influence on the Africans. The aim was to keep Indians segregated in the towns and to keep them out of the Highlands. Later the aim was to stop Indian immigration altogether, an aim not achieved until 1949. Politically the settlers first opposed Indian representation on the Legislative Council, and then fought for a limited amount of communal representation as opposed to the common roll for which the Indians increasingly pressed.

The Indian Question was ventilated before the First World War, but the most acute period of racial conflict was the twenty years between the wars when European settlers were fighting for political supremacy, often with the help of pro-settler governors, and saw the Indians as a threat to the whole British position in East Africa. The one Indian weapon in the conflict was boycott of representational institutions at all levels. An important stage in the conflict was the 1923 White Paper on Indians in Kenya which gave them five seats on Legislative Council elected on a communal franchise but otherwise made no change in their position as regards the Highlands or urban segregation or any other grievance. This was the White Paper which asserted the paramountcy of African rights in Kenya. The author's conclusion is that this meant that the only positive achievement of the inter-war Indian political agitation in Kenya was that the grant of responsible self-government to a European unofficial majority was ruled out.

The decisive importance of the struggle in Kenya for the whole of East Africa derived from the size of the two immigrant communities in the country. By 1948 Kenya had a population of 97,000 Indians, Uganda 35,000, Tanganyika 36000 and Zanzibar 16,000. In Uganda and Tanganyika the situation was always more harmonious than in Kenya, and the Indian Question in Tanganyika as in Uganda tended to be dominated more by economic grievances arising out of the government's regulation and control of trade than by strictly political considerations. Nevertheless, political life in Tanganyika and Uganda was always very sensitive to what happened in Kenya and in both countries the declaration of 1923 settled the political rule of Indians for the rest of the colonial period. Moves towards the closer union of the three countries emanating from Kenya and Britain were viewed with suspicion by Asians, as by Africans, in Tanganyika and Uganda as bringing all three countries under the domination of the Kenya white minority.

In all three countries, then, the Indians were firmly relegated to a tolerated middle position in the three-tier system which meant a contrast with the early years in which they were consciously associated with the imperial effort. Although their role remained one of subordinate employment and commercial enterprise throughout the colonial period, the Indians did not stand still. There was a transition from the small-scale enterprise of the early years to larger scale business undertakings. With the rise in their standards of living, increasing numbers of Indians were able to invest in large-scale enterprises in cotton, sisal and other industries, and they played an important part in every conceivable business activity. The community that formed itself in East Africa was increasingly well educated because of its self-sacrifice in the cause of higher education and help from government and it developed its own professional and commercial leadership.

From being a community emigrating from Indian villages, the Indians settled down as a community concentrated in African towns mainly Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Tanga, Mombasa, Nairobi and Kampala. Adaptation to the East African environment and British institutions and education meant far-reaching changes in society and the loosening of the initially strong links with India in spite of the part that Congress played in the East African struggle. Indian society remained largely isolated, however, a conglomeration of a series of closely knit castes and sects, which partly explained the hostility of Europeans and the lukewarm responses of the Africans to any overtures of friendship. Until the eve of the First World War Muslims were the majority; later the Hindu population rapidly increased, the diversity of the old established Zanzibar communities, being accentuated by the new immigrant groups from Gujerat and the Punjab. But the whole community was without religion except in Tanganyika—an important source of weakness when serious trouble came on independence.

Caribbean obsessions

ERIC WILLIAMS: *Inward Hunger.* 192pp. André Deutsch. £2 2s.

Inward Hunger is the autobiography of a man with an enormous chip on his shoulder. The son of a minor Post Office official in Trinidad, and eldest of twelve children, Eric Williams won scholarships to local schools and the island scholarship to Oxford, where he was placed first in the first class of the Modern History Honour School. He later took his doctorate in philosophy. At the end of this brilliant university career he failed to win an All Souls Fellowship and he did not get. His failure to get to All Souls is the distinction he attributes entirely to the fact that he is a Negro, and anyone reading this book might well share the opinion that personal rather than racial reasons were responsible for his failure.

Throughout his book he gives accounts of his disputes and arguments with others, in which he was always right and as a rule (through his intrinsic ability) victorious. His opponents are shown as generally stupid and not seldom almost insane in their opposition. When in 1944 he obtained a post in the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission he soon quarrelled with his colleagues and was passed over for promotion. In 1955 his contract with the Commission was not renewed. He had become, in his opinion, "the nationalist victim of colonial pressures".

Dr. Williams then turned to politics, where he has been remarkably successful. He founded a new party in Trinidad which won the general election of 1956, and he then became Chief Minister of the colony of Trinidad and Tobago. He led the colony into the Federation of the West Indies, but was unable to persuade the other colonies to agree to a "strong" federation. Largely because of this failure, the Federation collapsed and in 1962 Trinidad and Tobago became an independent nation.

Dr. Williams has travelled widely and is the author of several books and countless articles. His intellectual energy is amazing and there must be few men capable of literary pursuits such as his in addition to the labours of a Prime Minister of a young and developing country. Like all nationalist intellectuals, he is strongly anti-colonial, and the first chapter of his book describes conditions in Trinidad in 1911, the year he was born, in highly uncomplimentary terms. The island's crown colony constitution in that year "marked the nadir of political degradation". The economy of the island was dependent on external trade. "British in its commercial and industrial aspects, with a powerful British interest in the sugar industry".

Since he attained power he has done much for his country. The American base at Chaguaramas in Trinidad was one of those exchanged for destroyers during the First World War, and the area it occupied was desired as the site of the capital of the short-lived West Indies Federation.

The Americans, however, refused to quit and it was not until after the independence of Trinidad that Dr. Williams was able, by persistence and skilful diplomacy, to secure the return of the greater part of the base.

In internal politics Dr. Williams has practised what he calls "direct democracy", by frequent tours around the country to "meet the people" and consult them, by meetings with representatives of the business community and labour unions, and by the establishment of numerous community centres. He has also done a great deal for the education of his people.

Inward Hunger is an interesting book, but it would have been better if the author had been able to shake off some of his obsessions. A man as intellectual as he is should have been capable of doing so.

New Australians

GAVIN SOUTER: *A Peculiar People.* 309pp. Angus and Robertson. £3 9s. 6d.

In 1893-94 there was a peculiar happening in south eastern Australia. A mixed lot of bush workers and small tradesmen, some 600 in all, uprooted themselves with their families and sailed round the Horn to their promised land of Paraguay, about as far away as they could get. They were smouldering with the frustrations and resentments of acute industrial unrest, they were land-hungry and wanted to get out and start again. So they listened to William Lane, a radical journalist of Brisbane—a visionary and a prodigious worker and talker—and were fired by his assurance that Utopia was just round the corner for those with the courage to escape from capitalist bondage.

He gave them a long name—the New Australia Co-operative Settlement Association—a blueprint for their New Australia, and a plausible sketch of the financial arrangements which at sixty pounds a head would take them to their settlement in a land whose government, because it was used to revolutions (but of another sort), would welcome them with open arms. Working in mutual trust for the good of all, communal prosperity would ensure the good of every member of the commune. Equality of status and work and moral rectitude was to be the surest way to bounteous dividends.

It was soon evident to the unregenerate left behind to soldier on in Old Australia that all was not as plain sailing for the New Australians as their unusually halcyon passage round the Horn. As the years went by seceders who drifted back spread a rumour of fiasco. But this Utopia was too distant to communicate the hard facts of its dispersal, and it has been left to Mr. Souter, two generations after the event, to piece together the yellowing records of a confused and sorry tale. What he found after exhaustive research rather belies the title of his book: *A Peculiar People*. The people who fell in behind William Lane—and many of them come briefly and humorously to life in these pages—were mostly true to type in their Australian earthiness. They were not peculiar enough by far to make a reality of his dream, and he was not in strict enough command of his honest idealism to discipline them along the path he would have them go. The external pressures against which they rebelled and from which they had escaped were replaced only by internal ones. There was milk and honey enough in their new land, but they were free only to fight each other, overtly or covertly, in their self-seeking drive to better themselves.

Before the first shipload reached Asunción, the movement had fallen apart into two factions: those whom Lane trusted, and those who distrusted Lane. This pattern of petty rivalry, suspicion and intrigue never resolved itself: soon they had to separate into two warring settlements. William Lane resigned in 1898 and became a visionary of a more familiar colour—an Australian imperialist. His brother John, a less emotional character, succeeded him, but in 1904 he too was beaten by this Utopia that would not grow up, and with his departure the New Australians lost their spiritual identity. A hard cure held on stoically in hope of the final dividend at the winding-up of the Association. Those who did not go home or move on lived through several Paraguayan revolutions as Paraguayan settlers.

When Mr. Souter arrived for a brief visit in 1966 he was met on the long abandoned sites of the fellowship by a few old men and women who had come as children in the first batch, and a few children who hardly remembered their origin. He had come a long way in their tracks. It is for future historians of Australia to decide whether this long, muddled, pathetic story merits more than a footnote, but at least they will thank Mr. Souter for clearing the ground for them so very thoroughly in *A Peculiar People*.

THE ART HERITAGE OF INDIA
Comprising "Indian Sculpture and Painting" and "Ideals of Indian Art" by E. B. Havell. Revised Edition with 18 plates in colour and 207 monochrome illustrations. Price £7/7/-. Published by Taraporevala, Bombay, India. M/8
JOHN MURRAY (PUBLISHERS) LTD., 50, Albemarle Street, London. W.1.

Elusive dames

IVOR BROWN: *The Women in Shakespeare's Life.* 224pp. Bodley Head. 30s.

This book is not as inflammatory as its title would suggest. What Mr. Brown offers is a series of studies of Elizabethan female life, of which the best parts are social history rather than biography. Of course far too little is known about the women in Shakespeare's life to write a whole book about them: the identity, even the existence, of one of them—she is referred to here as "A Pair of Dark Eyes"—remains strictly putative. But Mr. Brown builds up what he can around the indisputable women—mother, wife, and two daughters. In part he re-tells Shakespeare's biography from their (somewhat predictably personal) angle. Much has to be flimsily conjectural or a weighing of the conjectures of others. And some is pleasant vamping: reports on Anne's "long, hard day" in a "densely populated farmhouse", Mary's opinions on her husband's way with dung-heaps, and Susanna's desire to keep noisome medical preparations out of the house.

Beyond this a real, though slight, picture is given of the life of the time, more vividly perhaps in those sections of the book which do not have to focus on this group of elusive dames. The general studies of *moeurs* offered in the chapters entitled "Women About Town", "Great Ladies", and "High Fashion", contain some charming bits and pieces of Good Queen Besserie.

Such information as is provided is confessedly not new, but it is sensibly and genially presented. Mr. Brown remarks that "the academic mind is apt to forget the flesh and blood", but if he had consulted Peter Laslett's brilliantly academic *The World We Have Lost* he would have been saved from repeating the old error that Elizabethan girls "married young or even very young"—and allowing this error to give an unpleasant impression of Anne's age and state of mind at the time of her marriage to Shakespeare.

Design in the bookshop

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE DESIGN of books is now a much-discussed topic. People, and not just those who are professionally interested, want to know and theorize about the rights and wrongs, or at any rate the whys and wherefores, of the preparation of words for print. This may be a last renaissance of interest in the subject before it is submerged in the larger problems of information retrieval. But although sentimental and antiquarian tastes, of one sort or another, have their influence on book-design, the real criteria are more practical. They fall into three main groups: economic, exegetic and aesthetic.

Good design, says the designer hopefully, saves money. It is an impossible thesis to prove; how can one tell how much the book would have cost if it had not been designed? One thing only is certain: the book would have been different. Moreover a good designer will anticipate the problems posed by a book, and thus smooth and accelerate its production. As book production becomes daily more complicated, so the saving should be more substantial if still not easily defined.

Secondly, design has an explanatory function: good design can make the meaning of a book clearer; bad design or no design will obscure it. This sounds simple, but in fact the exegetic role of the designer is a matter of some controversy. Should the designer be the anonymous serf of the author, or should he be an equal partner? Is good design invisible and bad design obtrusive? Or is that an old-fashioned point of view, neglecting the extra dimension that sympathetic design can bring to a book? What price McLuhan? All these questions are very much in the air. The answers depend on the nature of the book, and all books are different.

This brings us to the question of taste. There can be no doubt that the designer has an aesthetic function to perform, whether the results are to be invisible or visible. Here too there is an apparent controversy, between those who believe that the qualities that determine a pleasing appearance are implicit in a canon developed over many centuries, and those who would throw the past out of the window and produce a contemporary design for the eye of today. Tradition or iconoclasm? Aldus or Bauhaus? But it is not as simple as that. There are two complicating factors: legibility, and the relation of typographic design to pure art.

'Legibility has been much discussed, most recently by the distinguished psychologist Sir Cyril Burt. But when all is said and done, it is hard to advance beyond the fact that the human eye reads a familiar letter faster than one it is not used to. But how far is *fast* reading desirable? In some circumstances the designer's object may be to slow down the rate of ocular input. In some cases, therefore, the unfamiliar may please the reader more than the familiar. Again, typographic design always has a relation to the pure arts, as architecture also has. But both are applied arts, subject to pressures from the materials and processes they use as well as from the ruling theories of pure art. The designer's problem is to balance these pressures. He can be sure that his answer will reflect current aesthetic opinion—it will be either a good reflection or a bad one, deliberate or unconscious. But there is no equation between good and deliberate, unconscious and bad: the designer has no guide except himself to the amount of influence to accept from pure art.

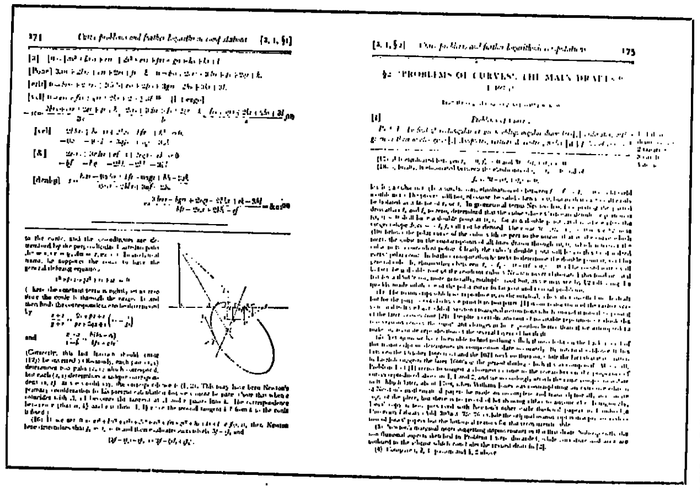
It is in this area that the designer exercises his aesthetic capacity, just as the meaning of the book will call out his exegetic ability, and the market and price his economic ability.

But any attempt to explore these aspects of the designer's function merely produces more questions, questions that have been so far left unanswered. The late Stanley Morison, who had probably thought more deeply about these problems over a longer period than anyone else, first propounded his answer forty years ago in the article on "Typography" in the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. These "First Principles of Typography" have often been reprinted, and in 1967 Morison added a postscript of particular relevance to this Inquiry, his last word on the subject.

Of this, more later: it is now time to recall one of Morison's less known observations, "Publishers and other buyers of printing", he said, "by insisting upon a setting which shall express *their* business, *their* goods, *their* books and nobody else's business or goods or books, demand an individuality which pure typography can never hope to supply." This is an important consideration. The designer's views, whether directed to saving money, bringing out meaning or pleasing the eye, are not his in isolation, and of all the influences to which he is liable, the patron's is bound to be the greatest. Submission of this sort has always been a marked feature of book-design in this country. For some time, the National Book League, which annually sponsors an admirable exhibition of book design (the only representative exhibition of its kind), have pressed for the inclusion in the catalogue notes of the designer's name. In this they have been generally disappointed; most exhibitors tend to settle for the semi-anonymity of "publishers' staff".

The publisher then (and the publisher is responsible for the design of almost all the books you see in the bookshops) wants "impure" typography: books that will reflect his individuality. Now most publishers have some sort of personality to the eye of the general reader. Usually this is a reflection of the kind of books they publish: it is more a matter of subject than appearance. All the same, the reader tends not to ignore appearance, even if the reaction is often a subconscious one. Most publishers have an "image" to their public, and on analysis it is often surprising how distinct this can be.

To take an obvious example, Faber and Faber have a very definite character. Founded nearly fifty years ago, they were well placed to profit from the revolution that Morison effected in book typography. Faber books have always had a name for good design, and the tradition of well-thought-out, undemonstrative but comfortable design was evolved in the 1930s and is still very much in evidence. An occasional homespun quirk, the habit of recording dates on the verso of the title in roman numerals; for example, dates them to the era of the great romantic illusion—the universal yearning to



From The Mathematical Papers of Isaac Newton (Volume II, 1667-1670), *edited by D. T. Whiteside.*
Cambridge University Press, 1968. Reviewed in the TLS, *June 27, 1968.*

Bembo and printed by Western Printing Services; its generous margins and decorated rules suggest Simon's *Introduction to Typography*; it is traditional without being old-fashioned. *English Delftware Pottery* is set in Plantin and printed by Robert Maclehose; it is slightly more "modern" in appearance tit has left-lining headings). Schönberg's famous *Fundamentals*, a complex text full of musical examples, has been immaculately set by the Oxford University Press in Times New Roman. All three books present a reassuringly practical solution to some stiff problem.

This businesslike and apparently effortless control is also visible in less demanding works, like Sir Geoffrey Keynes's edition of *The Letters of Rupert Brooke* (set in Fournier at the Cambridge University Press, with the rare shorter capitals designed by Sir Francis Meynell), and the well known Faber drama and poetry books, of which Tom Stoppard *Enter a Free Man* (Time): Latimer Trend) is a good example. Occasionally there are signs of "over-design": James Morris *Pax Britannica* (Van Dijk: Mackay) has pleasant enough text pages, but over-elaborate chapter openings; John Biggs *Basic Typography* and the anthology *Directions in Art, Theory and Aesthetics* both suffer from their adherence to the once-popular grid system of design. But these are isolated exceptions: the Faber standard of design is generally high. In their special field of scholarly illustrated books they have hardly an equal, other than Phaidon. Their books are in a contrasting ... economic if not ... successful experiment. But all ... economy. One of the liveliest ... attractive plain texts pro... year was a Methuen school ... *Ten Modern American ... Series* (Garamond; Cox and ... The layout was original but ... effective, with a most ingen... of the ten arabic figures re... each time for each story. ... this diverse material, a conti... of design (so much more ... in Faber books) was still ... visible throughout the A.B.P. ... is more than can be said of ... books, an odd fact, since ... with its several components ... be expected to be diverse. ... Macmillan's books would be ... for homogeneity, in that ... not ineffective style virtu... changed for fifty years. All ... by the board and every... biographies, schoolbooks, ... texts and children's books, ... almost kaleidoscopic var... of it is lively and some suc...

Life in Ballet (Pas... perhaps the first use of this ... the Second World War; ... Printing Services) is deco... huge Lyonnese fleurons, ... appropriate but not too deli... "appropriate" setting for ... Elen *Differential Equations* ... in Baskerville; Clowes) is a ... presentation of complex ... while a new school ... *Pattern and Power of Mathe...* (Univers; B.A.S. Printers) ... unserif type in an unconven... but effective way that must ... his Judgate Hill has a topical interest, for nothing in the modern city could be worse than that impossibly crowded Victorian street. But it was not Dore as Mr. Howgego says, it was Macaulay (in his most famous passage) who foresaw a New Zealander looking at the ruins of St. Paul's.

One of the most recent impres... that of the Penguin Press. Wher... Allen Lane decided to move into ... back publishing, it was to be expe... that he would demand the same ... standard of design for these ... Penguin paperbacks, Penguin ... books are recognizable as such ... an achievement among all the d... ent shapes and sizes of books ... prevalent. The long thin format ... cream paper are the obvious sign... which light "colour" (light type... spaced) for the text balanced ... bold headings can be added. Edw... Luttwak *Coup d'Etat* (Gauntlet); Robert Maclehose) and Anth... Storr *Human Aggression* (Bod... ville; Western Printing Services) ... typical examples, in which origin... is matched with attention to detail.

Two of the best Penguin ... books have, however, been design... by free-lance typographers. Alb... Schart *Art and Photography* (Bas... ville; Jarrold) has been designed ... Jan van Watering, and could serve ... a model of its kind. The photograp... some of them old and faint, are ... essential part of the text, and the ... out, with generous but not wast... margins and interlinear space, ... fectly calculated to display ... *Concerning Architecture*, ... edited by Sir John Summerson ... *Festschrift* for Dr. Pevsner, ... been designed by Hans Schmo... himself, the genius of Penguin ... typography since the war. A deep... tively simple text page (Fourn... again with short capitals; C... bridge), the elegant and readi... notes and appendixes are capped ... a title page of great virtuosity ... elegance.

John Murray, either by good ... or good management, seem ... in all their 200 years, to have ... the knack of presenting their b... well. Since the Second W... War, in particular, Murray's ... have been neat and often grac... Guy Lee's parallel text of *O... Amores* is both: set in Mardersl... too-little-used Dante type and p... by William Clowes, its only fau... a paper too soft to bring out the ... detail of the type. Murray have ... pioneers in design, sometimes ... cessfully (William Burns *Natu... Man* is an abuse of filmsetting) ... sometimes with great success. D... Mackean *Introduction to Biol...* which first came out in 1962, ha... a key work in the design of textbo... A recent series of schoolbooks, ... Duncan, *Exploring Physics* (Th... and Univers; Jarrold), shows ... good the Murray style in this ... can be, with two colours used ec... mically and effectively (an achie... ment still rare in this country).

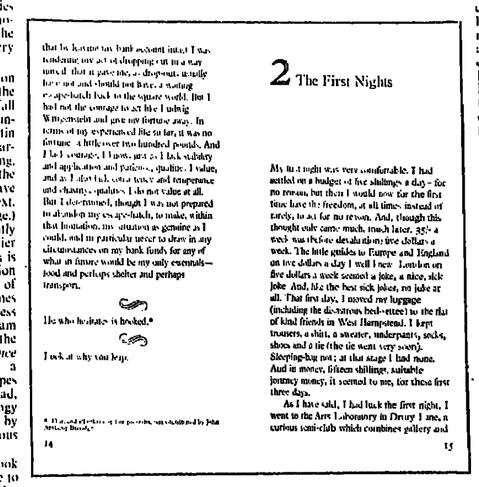
Twenty years ago, the group ... publishers (Methuen, Sweet and ... well, Chapman and Hall, Eyre ... Spottiswoode and Spon) now ... together as Associated Book ... lishers were none of them known ... good design. They now show a ... mastery of the problems presented ... complex academic work. R. O. ... Norman *Principles of Organic ... thesis* (Times and Univers: Will... Brothers) is an elegant but unfu... solution for a very elaborate ch... ical work. They experiment with ... new semi-typewriter substitutes ... typesetting, with success (Brand... John and Scott *Practical Dialogue ... for Electrical Networks*) and with ... (Fernie and Hanley *Binary Ari... metic* has failed to come to ter... with the restrictions of typewri... faces: Crawford *Programmed Ge... metry* in the same series, filmset ... much better). *The Structural U... of Timber*, the text of a recent Bri... Standard with comment, ingenio... combines the setting of the origi... Standard (Times, reproduced with the ...

Three excellent examples of Faber design at its best are Norah Waugh *The Cut of Women's Clothes 1600-1930*, Anthony Ray *English Delftware Pottery*, and Schönberg *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, all illustrated quarto books. The text is not coffee-table stuff: it is often long and complicated with multiple headings and elaborate tables. There is very little to choose between them. *The Cut of Women's Clothes* is set in ... make Hall and Knight turn in their grave. The sans base design, using a scrilled text-type, appears in Ralph Glasser *The New High Priesthood*, perhaps the most unorthodox plain text to appear last year. Here unorthodoxy is merely irritating. The children's books, notably the controversial "Topliner" paperback series and *Alberta*, a very attractive anthology for younger children, reflect the same diversity. It is all a far cry from the old Macmillan style.

Anthony Blond has a reputation for unorthodoxy and *Drop Out!*, the diary of Robin Farquharson's fall from conventional grace, is set unjustified in a large size of Plantin (Garden City Press) with a very narrow format. It is odd and interesting, the more so as it has avoided all the obvious design tricks that might have been produced for so eccentric a text. (See the illustration on this page.) Secker and Warburg have recently provided a complete text of an earlier unorthodox, George Orwell. This is a neat and dignified presentation (without being in any sense pretty) of matter naturally diverse, set in Times New Roman, with some of its less common display variants (by William Clowes). Constable vary from the good, like *Exercises in Social Science* (Fournier; Butler and Tanner), a well-designed mass of different types of text and tables, to the very bad, Martin Seymour-Smith's anthology *Poets Through their Letters*, spoilt by an unimaginative and monotonous setting.

But for the best kind of book design, there is still no better place to go than the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, which enjoy the advantage of being linked to two of the best printing-houses in the country. The latter can turn out anything from a scholarly reproduction of *Two Spanish Chapbooks*, a timeless piece of elegance in Poliphilus type. Perhaps its most notable recent achievement certainly the most distinguished of all the books here considered—is the multi-volume sets of *The Letters and Mathematical Papers* of Sir Isaac Newton. To translate into type a manuscript original never intended for print in such a way as to preserve all its characteristic details—this has always been a hard task for the typographer. Newton's papers present special problems, both of transcription and notation, as well as (on occasion) mere bulk. The basic text face is Baskerville, fitted, to avoid ambiguity, with Modern figures. A large assortment of special characters are called for, and each has clearly been chosen with the most expert care. Only occasionally is a facsimile required, to elucidate the text, e.g., for Newton's calculation of $\log(1 + 0.2)$ to 57 places. It is a *tour de force* of fine composition, and a work which any book designer could study with profit (see the illustration on the previous page).

The word "typographer" is one frequently misused. In its full sense, as understood by informed writers from Moxon to Morison, it demands a knowledge of all typographic skills from letter-design to binding technique. It is too often used as a euphemism for "layout man", a type of serf who waits on the creative artist, the visualizer. Here the less comprehensive phrase "book-designer" has been used: that at least is clear, if not over specific. But a wholly satisfactory design, like that of the Newton Papers, demands a typographer, one who realizes that all the ingenuity spent on composition will be wasted if, say, the choice of paper is wrong. Although book composition has been the theme of these remarks, it has been composition seen in the wide context of book typography. Publishers who care most about book-designs clearly see it as a typographic problem, not a matter for an hour on a drawing-board, but an integral part of their business.



2 The First Nights

My flat at night was very comfortable. I had settled on a budget of five shillings a day – for no reason, but then I would now far the first time have the freedom, at all times instead of rarely, to act for no reason. And, though this thought only came much, much later, after a week was the first devaluation: five dollars a week. The little guides to Europe and England on five dollars a day I well knew. London on five dollars a week seemed a joke, a mice, sick joke. And, by the best sick joke, no joke at all. That first day, I moved my luggage (including the disastrous bed-settee) to the flat of kind friends in West Hampstead. I kept trousers, a shirt, a sweater, underpants, socks, shoes and a tie (the tie went very soon). Sleeping-bag not; at that stage I had none. And in notes, fifteen shillings, available journey money, it seemed to me, for three, three days.

As I have said, I had back the first night. I went to the Arts Laboratory in Drury Lane, a curious semi-club which combines gallery and

14 15

From Drop Out! *by Robin Farquharson. Anthony Blond, 1968.*
Reviewed in the TLS, *January 30, 1969.*

Books received

REYNOLDS, GRAHAM. *Turner*. 216pp. Thames and Hudson. 35s. (Paperback, 21s.)

A serviceable addition to the several books on Turner produced during the past ten years that have represented a new development of appreciation, especially with regard to aspects of the great artist's career that had long been neglected or misunderstood. Mr. Graham Reynolds provides in compact form a biographical and critical survey with a grasp of what can now be seen as essentials and gives due attention to the phases of Turner's art that have become a fresh experience for the present day. The whole evolution passes in review from watercolour in the style of Turner's first master, Thomas Malton, to the prismatic glow he imparted to the Virgilian theme. "The Visit to the Tomb", the year before he died. There is helpful relation between reproductions and comment and the choice of paintings and drawings is judiciously divided between the set pieces intended for Academy exhibition, the adventures in colour that were of more private and personal interest, and sketch-book pages that will be new to many.

WRIGHT, J. S. N. *The Bravos of Westminster Abbey*. 48pp. John Baker. 7s. 6d.

The earliest of the Westminster brasses date from the 1270s. From then down to the seventeenth century the Abbey possesses a fine series of such memorials, mostly to people otherwise quite forgotten. The brasses tend to be overlooked by visitors among so many more spectacular memorials. Mr. Wright's useful booklet describes and illustrates a number of the best of them, classifying the examples under each century. They are, to echo Canon Edward Carpenter's foreword, almost a unique documentary of English costume throughout the ages

Going for a Song: English Furniture. Arthur Negus talks to Max Robertson. 221pp. B.B.C. Publications. 30s.

In his foreword to this book Max Robertson suggests that Arthur Negus "is one of the greatest gifts to television since Gilbert Harding". His Sunday afternoon talks about antiques, in which history, the tricks of the trade and amusing personal

STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Volume 1 No 1 Editor: Prof. T. Kelly

A new six-monthly journal published on behalf of the Universities Council for Adult Education by David & Charles.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Short-Term Residential Colleges: Their Origins and Value, DONALD GARSIDE; Dual Use of Premises in Adult Education, MARGERY LESLIE; Social Science and Adult Education, CHRISTOPHER DUKE & STUART MARRIOTT; Some Implications of the Seebohm Report, DEREK JEHU. Also 18 books reviewed, relevant articles from other journals summarised, new journals listed and bibliographical resources supplied. 104 pages. Annual subscription 30s, single copies 17s 6d.

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seem indeed to have something of Harding's compulsive drawing power. Printed from tape recordings, even with the minimum of editing some of the personal magnetism inevitably evaporates. Nevertheless this book makes a good deal more lively reading than the general run of the "How to Collect" type. Most writers merely record the bald fact that Cuban mahogany is much heavier than the Honduras variety which came into use later, and the chances are that the lynx collector will forget it as soon as he enters a shop. But tell him, as Arthur Negus does, that before buying a mahogany chair he should try to lift it up with one finger and the information will probably stick in his memory with the trick. The author was brought up in the cabinet-making business, so he knows dozens of such useful gimmicks. Historically, of course, his statements need just as much checking as those of far duller experts ("Most old refectory tables were at least thirty-foot long"; the two longest on record are noticeably less than this).

But the sad thing is that the widespread enthusiasm for antiques which he has awakened as a broadcaster, comes at a time when there is less good old furniture left in the antique shops than at any time since Dickens wrote *The Old Curiosity Shop*.

Biography and Memoirs

RAY, NIHARRANJAN. *An Artist in Life: a Commentary on the Life and Works of Rabindranath Tagore*. 481pp. Trivandrum, India: University of Kerala Press. Rs.30.

This large volume, the most comprehensive study of Rabindranath Tagore's life and personality so far to appear, will interest Western readers from two angles. In the first place, it is a complete guide to the poet's view of life and to the ideals which shaped his outlook on the world from early manhood until the day of his death; in the second place, it clearly explains why Rabindranath Tagore's reputation, unlike that of so many once-idolized Indians, seems to increase in stature with the passage of time. Political fashions change, in India as elsewhere; a generation has grown up, particularly among the younger intellectuals, which now questions both the aims and the achievements of the Founding Fathers of Indian freedom. But the all-embracing human interest which Tagore displayed, his perpetual striving to develop a complete personality by insistence on balance, rhythm, proportion, and response to outside stimuli, combined with his enlightened

smith too was the scene of his son Thornton's experiment in communal living that resulted in his sharing G. H. Lewes's wife in addition to having one of his own. Of Hunt himself Mrs. Tatchell has assembled pleasant glimpses from his friends and visitors. Like the cottage, which still stands in Rowan Road, her book is modest but well filled; if the twilight tint (Hunt died there in 1859) is slightly melancholy. A few slips need correcting: Hunt shared Byron's palazzo in Pisa but not in Genoa; Nathaniel Hawthorne is rarely given his final "e"; and Edward "Elleker" Williams should be "Ellerker".

Communications

CLAYTON, HOWARD. *Atlantic Bridgehead*. 192pp. Garnstone Press. £2 2s.

This, says the sub-title, is the story of transatlantic communications. Mr.

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Clayton, however, has been selective. He largely limits the story to the transatlantic cable, the wireless and the flights of Alcock and Brown. There is, in addition, an excursion into the history of the Newfoundland railway, which is seen as one of the links between the Old World and the New. Within these limits, Mr. Clayton recreates the difficulties and the drama of some great achievements. He reaches behind the commonplace of today to the marvel of yesterday. Period photographs and drawings illustrate his theme.

Cookery

RHODES, DENNIS (Editor). *In an Eighteenth Century Kitchen*. 57pp. Celia and Amelia Woolf. 25s.

In an Eighteenth Century Kitchen is a collectors' piece, designed for those who read cookery books for pleasure. It is the book Beverley Nichols found in the cottage he described in "A Thatched Roof", printed as he found it with its original and highly diversified spelling. It seems to have belonged to the alluringly-named Quaker, Fettiplace Bellers (see the *Dictionary of National Biography*), and the recipes to have been entered by hand by a succession of more or less literate cooks between 1698 and 1750. They comprise practical things such as how to make Marchpane Paste (beating for an hour—but how much more pleasing than mere Marzipan) to matters of, one hopes, more academic interest, such as "A Receipt Against the Plague" and Dr. Mead's alarming remedy for the bite of a mad dog. The book is decorated by pleasant enough pictures by Duncan Grant, but would surely have been more suitably served with prints from the relevant period.

VAUGHAN, BEATRICE. *The Old Cook's Almanac*. 198pp. Wyndham and Stacey. 37s. 6d. HARRIS, BEN CHARLES. *Eat the Weeds*. 223pp. Massachusetts: Barre.

Two new American cook books are curiosities rather than of great practical use in the present-day kitchen, surrounded as the British housewife is at the moment with lavish native publications, weekly Cordon Bleu courses and well-illustrated recipes in every woman's magazine.

The Old Cook's Almanac is, however, a delightful oddity which would make a pleasant addition to the visitor's bedside table. Beatrice Vaughan has collected recipes from handwritten books of the United States and arranged them in the form of a seasonal calendar of ideas for "delectable meals at little cost". It is not the recipes, though most of them are good and solid as well as practicable on this side of the Atlantic, that give her book its charm, but rather the picture it presents of Yankee country life around and after the Civil War. Each page has its illustrations of country and domestic scenes and customs and there are household hints scattered through the text, some curious—"for a corn on the toe: 'Bind on half a cranberry, cut side down, and the corn will disappear in two or three nights'", some worth a try—"put a handful of salt in the rinse water and washing will not freeze when hung out to dry on a winter day".

Eat The Weeds is a production more useful to the botanist than the cook. For those who really find it worth the effort to boil their garden chickweed, nettles or ground-elder there are English books that give safe and reasonably edible directions for identification and cooking. Not many of us here can find Mr. Harris's weeds—Shadbush, Sassafras, Skunk Cabbage—growing wild in our woods or gardens; or, alas, Blueberry, Wild Rice or Groundnuts; but he gives some hint of how we might use our cultivated plants like Bergamot and Hollyhocks, obviously weeds to the Americans. The book has some interesting historical references and quotations from ancient authorities, but it is a pity it includes no illustrations that might help us to identify these exotic weeds if we had the good luck to come across them.

History

CRUICKSHANK, JOHN. *Aspects of the Modern European Mind*. 200pp. Longmans. Paperback. 15s.

A new volume in a "Problems and Perspectives in History" series which contains extracts from thirty-four representative European thinkers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, introduced and linked by Professor Cruickshank's discreet commentary. The selection is not limited to the statutory figures and begins, indeed, with the geologist Lyall before getting down to Darwin, Marx and Freud. Husserl gets some attention at last and Professor Cruickshank has also included worthwhile sections of religious thinkers and practising writers, artists and musicians of the present century.

GASH, NORMAN. *The Age of Peel*. 190pp. WRIGHT, LOUIS B. and FOWLER, ELAINE W. *English Colonization of North America*. 189pp. Arnold. 25s. each.

Two additions to the publishers' "Documents of Modern History" series the purpose of which is to lead students back to the sources by printing original documents with comments, after a brief general survey of the subject. Professor Gash's book is a selection illustrative of the preoccupations of the 1830s and 1840s: parliamentary reform and the Corn Laws, Chartism and child labour, the arrival of the railways. The other book has a wider range, its documents extending from the papal bull of 1493, dividing the new lands between Spain and Portugal, down to the Stamp Act of George III.

Literary Criticism

FENNELL, JOHN, and OBOLENSKY, DIMITRI (Editors). *A Historical Russian Reader: A Selection of Texts from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*. 228pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £2 10s.

The thirteen items in this anthology, the first to cater for English-speaking readers, indicate the rich variety of genres in early Russian literature. Strictly religious works are represented by the elegant sermon of Ilarion, metropolitan of eleventh-century Kiev, and the story of the martyrs Boris and Gleb. Four so-called "military tales" recount episodes in the struggle against the Tatars between 1223, when the nomads first appeared on Russian soil, and 1480, when Moscow finally cast off their yoke. A welcome and unusual feature is the inclusion of pieces illustrating both viewpoints in the ecclesiastical controversy of the late fifteenth century. From Ivan the Terrible's reign we have the writings of two notable victims of his tyranny, Peresvetov and Kurbsky. Of more literary value is the *Lay of Igor's Campaign*, the authenticity of which is still hotly disputed—a fact curiously not mentioned in the notes, which although adequate for textual comprehension are rather thin on points of general interest. One also misses any suggestions for further reading. This useful volume shows how necessary it is to study early Russian culture as an integral whole and to abandon the artificial division between "literature" and "history" still fashionable at some British universities.

JENKINS, HAROLD. *The Catastrophe in Shakespearean Tragedy*. 22pp. Edinburgh University Press. 5s.

This is the text of Professor Jenkins's inaugural lecture in the Chair of Rhetoric and English Literature at Edinburgh. Shakespeare accepted the contemporary idea that tragedy must almost invariably end in the death of the central character, and from this the speaker went on to consider how the protagonists in the Shakespearian tragedies regarded their own death: from Brutus's acceptance of an appointed end, "I know my hour is come", to Macbeth's mere weariness of life, "I have lived long enough".

Social Studies

TIGER, LIONEL. *Men In Groups*. 254pp. Nelson. £2 10s.

With increasing knowledge the fringes of disciplines tend to coalesce and form new vantage-points for study. In *Men in Groups*, Dr. Tiger discusses the relationship between biology and sociology as sciences, and between biological processes and social processes as realities. He considers why human males form groups, what they do in them and what the groups—including clubs, religious orders and secret societies—are for. His arguments are drawn from a range of academic disciplines and he attempts to see the social phenomenon of the male bond in terms of a speculative reconstruction of human evolution.

Male-bonding in animal communities is discussed, and it is suggested that the relationship between male-bonding, political organization and sexual difference is possibly a function of human brain development which was based on a particular breeding and ecological system, culminating in *Homo sapiens*. Sections follow on the male bond in human communities in politics, war, work and play. Dr. Tiger attempts to explain why so few women achieve high places in business or in politics and also why men actively exclude women from some of their group occupations. It is argued that in political, defensive and aggressive organizations, male dominance is species-specific. That being so, the problem of peace-keeping is obviously more difficult than if aggression were personal or the result of frustration or a response to wholly social stimuli.

The whole pattern of present male dominance is presented in a new light; it appears to be related to man's evolutionary history and is reflected necessarily in the underlying features of contemporary society. It is a thought-provoking theme, controversial in places, based on a record and analysis of literature and of numerous pertinent discussions.

Travel and Topography

HOGG, GARRY. *Odd Aspects of England*. 112pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. 35s.

Mr. Garry Hogg is no mean photographer and his latest collection, of some of the curious objects he has seen about the countryside, is evidence of his good eye for a picture. The photographs are not easily classified and he is finally reduced to a miscellany of "oddments" that fit into no category. For the rest, there are groups of follies such as Sanderson Miller's Radway Tower; old windmills and village lock-ups, ornate market crosses, bridges and monoliths, and the Roman pharos at Dover. All the pictures are admirable in their clarity and definition. Many will be generally familiar; to identify others it may be necessary to read through the opposite page of text, for there are no captions.

OPPENHEIM, M. M. *The Maritime History of Devon*. 198pp. University of Exeter. £2 2s.

Michael Oppenheim (1853-1927) wrote his account of Devon seafaring history, from the Middle Ages down to the Napoleonic Wars, for inclusion in the *Victoria County History of Devonshire*. The intended volume never appeared and his contribution, remaining unpublished, is now rescued by Professor W. B. Minchinton, who adds a memoir of the author and a list of more recent books. The history, which includes descriptions of the establishment of Plymouth Dockyard and the building of the Eddystone lighthouses, is printed here as Oppenheim left it, except that the narrative has been broken up into chapters. It is illustrated with maps and portraits.

RODMAN, SELDEN. *The Peru Traveller*. 189pp. Ward Lock. £2 2s.

This book, which has as its sub-title a Concise History and Guide, lives up to its author's intentions. It is divided into three short parts. The first deals with the history of Peru from the earliest, pre-Columbian times, sketching rather than giving detailed accounts of what took place before Pizarro arrived. Then there is the Inca period, and the reader is quite rightly expected to go elsewhere if he wants knowledge in depth. The section ends with the recent presidency of Belaunde, whose dismissal came after publication. This section, of some ninety-three pages, is satisfactory within that scope.

The second section is a collection of photographs. This reviewer would have preferred less pre-Columbian artefacts and more of the architecture either of the Inca or the Spanish period because if this book is for the traveller that is where the emphasis lies. This section bridges the first and the third (the guide proper) and is in itself useful. It is quite a good guide, down to the best souvenir shops; yet somehow it seems just a little out of place. No doubt this book will have its uses for there are not many guides to Peru, with background information like this one but it gives the impression that it was put together rather quickly and that with more care it might have been better and achieved its real object.

SOUTER, GAVIN, and MOLNAR, GEORGE. *Sydney Observed*. 135pp. Angus and Robertson. 27s. 6d.

Mr. Souter's text is taken unchanged from a much more expensive book called *Sydney*, which was published by Angus and Robertson in 1966; a few details have dated in three years, but it remains as "brilliantly successful" as we found it then. Mr. Molnar's drawings are pleasant enough, but are a poor substitute for Quinton Davis's memorable photographs, whose loss is presumably the price of a cheap edition.

Wine and Food

LICHINE, ALEXIS, in collaboration with WILLIAM E. MASSEE. *Wines of France*. 310pp. Cassell. £2 5s.

First published in 1952, this remains the best if patchy book in English on the French wine areas. Revised more than once it has now been re-set in smaller type-size, thus reducing more than 400 pages to just over 300 pages. Revised it is to the extent that comments on older vintages have been replaced by those on more recent years, the useful production totals of Bordeaux châteaux have been revised, and there are fuller, more up-to-date lists of proprietors in such vineyards as Clos de Vougeot and Montrachet. Yet the opportunity to correct obvious errors has not been taken. For example the date of the Rothschild purchase of Mouton is still given as 1868, when Lafite was acquired by the French bank instead of 1853. Nor is the modern château of Latour now "a detestable small, ugly house". Nor do comments on certain vintages of particular growths inspire confidence when older dates are removed in more recent years slotted in. Districts, such as Pomerol and Médoc, receive no more attention in the first edition, and one may have expected later champagne notices than 1960. Finally the author might have taken more note of criticism that his "official classification" of the Médoc in 1855 is now "official" order.

MCDOUALL, ROBIN. *The Good London*. 158pp. MacGibbon & Kee. 30s.

The author has had the enterta idea of picking the brains and typical recipes of chefs of fifty London restaurants which he likes briefly describes. These include only celebrated, long-established gastronomic haunts but also represe tives of the new surge of restau opened in recent years in and o fringe of Central London. T recipes, simply set out from cookery of several countries, from plain English fare to Mo curry. The notes on the restau give an idea of food and wine p The author's tone is cringly pompous, and if the omission of tain restaurants is surprising, plies that it is in most cases deliber

Paperbacks

Titles in bold denote original titles.

Arts and Architecture. RUARI MCLEAN: *Pictorial Alphabets*. Studio Vista. 15s. JOHN B. NEUTZ: *British Architecture and its background*. Macmillan. 30s.

Biography and Memoirs. LORD HOUGHTON: *The Life and Letters of John Keats*. Introduction by Sylva Norman. Everyman Paperbacks. 7s. KEITH DOUGLAS: *Alamein to Zem Zem*. Penguin. 5s. DERMOT MORRAH: *To be a King*. Arrow Books. 7s. 6d. ERNEST NEWMAN: *Wagner as man and Artist*. Cape Paperbacks. 21s.

Business and Management. ERNEST DALE and L. C. MICHELON: *Modern Management Methods*. Pelican. 7s.

Criminology.—ROGER HOOD: *Sentencing in Magistrate Courts*. Social Science Paperbacks. 12s. 6d.

Drama.—SIMON GRAY: *Dutch Uncle*. Faber and Faber. 9s. EUGENE O'NEILL: *The Emperor Jones*. Cape Paperbacks. 15s.

Education.—Language, the Learner and the School. A Research report by Douglas Barnes, with a contribution by James Britton and a discussion document prepared by the London Association for the teaching of English. Introduction by Harold Rosen. Penguin. 5s. GEORGE PICKERING: *The Challenge to Education*. Pelican. 5s. W. KENNETH RICHMOND: *The Teaching Revolution*. Education Paperbacks. 18s.

Essays.—LILLIAN ROSS: *Reporting*. Mayflower Paperbacks. 7s.

Fiction.—PATRICK BOYLE: *At Night all cats are grey*. Panther. 5s. DESMOND DONNELLY: *The Nearing Storm*. Arrow Books. 3s. 6d. MAURICE EDELMAN: *Shark Island*. Panther. 6s. PETER FORSTER: *The Spike*. Penguin by arrangement with Hutchinson. 5s. HERMANN HESSE: *Demian*. Translated by W. J. Strachen. Panther. 6s. MALCOLM LOWRY: *Hear Us O Lord from thy dwelling place*. Penguin. 6s. DENNIS MURPHY: *The Sergeant*. Sphere Books. 5s. ROBERT NEILL: *Mfui over Peuille*. Arrow Books. 5s. SEAN O'FAOLAIN: *The Heat of the Sun*. Pan. 5s. ROGER PEYREFITTE: *The Keys of St. Peter*. Translated by Edward Hyams. Panther. 6s. SIMON RAVEN: *Fielding Gray*. Panther. 6s. ALEXANDER RIDAUT: *Beyond the Mountains*. Penguin in association with Eyre and Spottiswoode. 5s. JEAN RHYS: *Voyage in the Dark*. *Good Morning Midnight*. Penguin. 4s. each. ROBERT TAUBMAN (Editor): The Penguin Book Of Modern European Short Stories. Penguin. 6s. REBECCA WEST: *The Birds Fall Down*. Pan. 7s. 6d. ANGUS WILSON: *The Middle Age of Mrs. Eliot*. *No Laughing Matter*. Penguin in association with Secker and Warburg. 8s. each.

History.—VASILI I. CHUIKOV: *The End of the Third Reich*. Introduction by Alistair Horne. Panther. 6s. A. J. P. TAYLOR: *The Origins of the Second World War*. Hamilton. 42s. ALAN WILKINSON: *The Church of England and the First World War*. SPCK. 30s.

Literature and Literary Criticism. MATTHEW ARNOLD: *Essays in Criticism*. Introduction by G. K. Chesterton. Everyman Paperbacks. 8s. KEITH CRUICKSHANK (Editor): French Literature and its Background: The Nineteenth Century. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. DANTE ALIGHIERI: *La Vita Nuova*. Translated by Barbara Reynolds. Penguin. 5s. GEORG LUKÁCS: *The Historical Novel*. Translated by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. Peregrine Books. 20s.

Poetry. CATULLUS. Translated by Lee and Celia Zukofsky. Cape Goliard Press. 38s. KARL KROLOW: Hands. Translated by Michael Hamburger. Cape Goliard Press. 16s. The Old Pindar. Translated and with an introduction by C. M. Bowra. Penguin.

Politics.—GABRIEL COHN-BENDIT and DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: *Obsolete Communism: The Left-Wing Alternative*. Translated by Arnold Pomerans. Penguin. 5s. BASIL DAVIDSON: *Liberation of Guiné*. Penguin. ANDREW KOPKIND: *American Mixed Curse*. Penguin. 5s. EDUARDO MONDLANE: *The Struggle for Mozambique*. Penguin. 5s. SYDNEY R. SCHRAM: *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*. Pelican. 10s. 6d. SUTCLIFFE: *A History of Trade Unionism in Australia*. Macmillan. 32s. DAVID THOMSON (Editor): *Political Ideas*. Pelican. 5s.

Psychology.—ANDREW MCGHIE: Psychology of Attention. Penguin. 5s. A. MORRISON and D. MCINTYRE: Teachers and teaching. Penguin. K. H. PRIBRAM (Editor): Brain and Behaviour. 1: Mood, states and mind. 2: Perception and action. 3: Memory Mechanisms. 4: Adaptation. Penguin. Modern Psychology. Penguin. 12s. each.

Religion.—VICTOR DE WAAL: What is the Church? SCM Press. 6s. MERRILL T. GILBERTSON: Discovering Bible Times: A Study by Methods of Archaeology. Lutterworth Press. ROSEMARY HAUGHTON: The Church. Church. Geoffrey Chapman. GEOFFREY PARRINDER: Religion in Africa. Penguin. 6s. HANS JOACHIM SCHULTZ: Conversion to the Church. Translated by Paul Oestreicher. SCM Press. 8s. 6d. J.-J. VON ALLMEN: The Lord's Supper. Translated by Fletcher Fleet. Lutterworth Press. 18s. GEOFFREY WAINWRIGHT: Christian Initiation. Lutterworth Press. 18s.

Science Fiction.—AVRAM DAVIDSON: *Rork!* 4s. HARRY HARRISON: *The Galaxy Hero*. 4s. FRITZ LEIBER: *The Wanderer*. 5s. EDGAR PANGBORN: *Davy*. 5s. FREDERICK POHL and JACK WILLIAMSON: *The Reefs of Space*. 4s. Penguin.

World Affairs.—THEODORE DRAPER: *Abuse of Power*. Penguin in association with Secker and Warburg. 6s.

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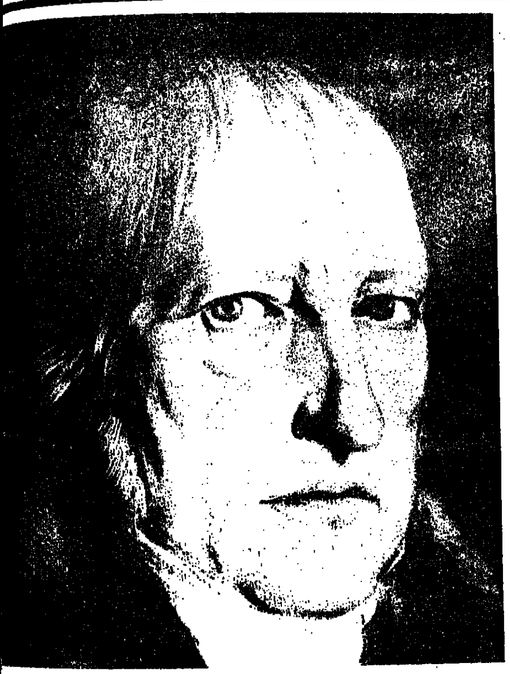
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T·L·S
THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT
THURSDAY 5 JUNE 1969 • No. 3,510 • ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE





Marx

From historicism to Marxist humanism

AN HISTORIAN of ideas were asked to identify the central problem of his task at the present time, what feature would he stress? The notion of history to sociology? The need for a universalist outlook transcending the limitations of race, nation and locality? The built-in reservations of the scientific approach? At any rate it is unlikely that he would feel able to neglect the approach of "historicism" flung at us by predecessors ever since it began to dawn upon thinking people in the second half of the nineteenth century that behind the new historical consciousness there lurked a related view of values hitherto treated as absolute and unchanging. Once nature had been shown to possess a history, it was not long before the subversive notion occurred to anthropologists, sociologists, critics of religion, and students of political thought that human nature too might have an historical dimension, and that men might consequently be bound for ever to define by the moral precepts worked out by theologians and philosophers reflecting upon the circumstances of their own age and place. Hence the "anarchy of values" contemplated with horrified fascination by writers as remote from each other as Kierkegaard, Nietzsche and Dostoevsky, and the fin de siècle malaise clearly perceptible behind the cheerful sentiment of Shaw and other lifelong adherents of the Fabian Society.

MAX HORKHEIMER: *Kritische Theorie*. Eine Dokumentation. Edited by Alfred Schmidt. Vol. 1: 376pp. Vol. 2: 358pp. Frankfurt: S. Fischer. £2 15s. each volume.
JÜRGEN HABERMAS (Editor): *Antworten auf Herbert Marcuse*. 160pp. 7s. JÜRGEN HABERMAS: *Erkenntnis und Interesse*. 364pp. 33s. 6d. HANS BLUMENBURG: *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit*. 600pp. £4 4s. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
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converted to fascism on the grounds that one ideology was as good or bad as another. The historian, even though himself in many cases quite innocent of such a philosophy (or any other), could not in the circumstances escape the suspicion that he was up to no good.

Historicism in this sense of the term clearly possesses a signification quite different from that subsequently given to it by Professor Karl Popper, whose well-known refutation of what he took to be the characteristic modern heresy centred upon the logical impossibility of predicting the future. Popper's comprehensive ignorance of the philosophical tradition he was criticizing enabled him to fasten upon Hegel the wholly unfounded charge of having inaugurated the disastrous habit of making political theory dependent upon historical prediction. The baseless accusation rebounded upon the European heirs of positivism when their American colleagues began to apply mechanistic and deterministic notions about "social engineering" all too plainly derived from the unhistorical approach prevalent in the physical sciences. Like the "societal statics" of Comte and Spencer, these conceptual models ignored whatever could not be measured or quantified—in other words, whatever was specifically human, and thus of interest to historians. The predictable result has been well illustrated recently by the fraud-cum-farce known as the "anti-poverty programme": not to mention the war in Vietnam, which was to have been won by dropping so many tons of bombs a square mile, thereby paradoxically stiffening the will to resistance in the face of such senseless destruction.

Whatever Hegel's faults, he never made the mistake of supposing that the human element could be removed from the equation. Nor, for that matter, did his philosophy lend support to the notion that history was subject to inexorable causal laws. What turned "historicism" into a problem for later thinkers operating within the mental climate he had helped to create was, rather, an uncomfortable awareness that no one could any longer foresee where the historical process was going to. History thus became a threat to the intellectual and moral certainties shared by rationalists and romantics alike: the metaphysical dimension preserved in Hegel's idea of *Geistesgeschichte* had to be abandoned. By the later nineteenth century this evacuation of *Geist* from *Geschichte* had been completed by the positivist school; but the first step was notoriously taken by Ranke, with his hopeless search

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for history" as it really was "before the mind got to work on "the facts". By the time Dilthey around 1900 had worked out his typology of world views, this phase was over and the issue had been settled. Historiography had become a matter for professionals who studiously avoided what were known as "value judgments" (though needless to say they automatically imparted their patriotic and religious values into their writings).

Alongside this growing mountain of specialization there persisted the ancient search for a universal history of the spirit, but by now emptied of the moral certainties which inhabited the Hegelian system. Dilthey's solution of the problem amounted to an admission that reflection could yield only partial and contradictory insights into a higher, or deeper, reality whose true nature remained hidden. Once this had been accepted, the irrationalists, with their cult of intuition and empathy, were free to let their fancy roam, unhampered by the antiquated notion that values must be anchored in theoretical comprehension of mankind's nature and history's logic. One Weltanschauung being as good as another, the choice between them reduced itself to arbitrariness even for a professed rationalist like Weber, who in the end accepted what he called the "plurality of values" in a suitably resigned spirit:

> It is necessary to choose which of these gods one wishes to serve, but regardless of the choice, he will always find himself in conflict with one of the other gods of the world.

Nietzsche had already chosen the Superman, and Spengler, the poor man's Nietzsche, thereafter effected the transition from aesthetics to politics: if everyone was free to choose the "god" he wished to serve, one might as well choose the god of war. The circle was closed.

Of the books under review, the two-volume collection of Horkheimer's essays, *Kritische Theorie*, is the one most profoundly marked by this particular problem. This is hardly surprising when one considers that the author was born in 1895, made his philosophical debut in 1925 with a doctoral dissertation on Kant's aesthetics, became director of the Frankfurt Institut für Sozialforschung in 1930, and after 1933 transferred the Institute successively to Geneva, Paris, New York and Los Angeles, before returning to Frankfurt in 1950 to become once more head of the reconstructed Institute and, more briefly, Rector of the Goethe-Universität. His publications during this period included sociological investigations composed or edited in collaboration with American colleagues of very different background, as well as a philosophical study, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1947), written jointly with his long-standing friend and colleague Theodor Adorno. This work already struck a note of disillusionment induced by the rise and fall of the Third Reich with its attendant horrors—all unforeseeable in 1932 when Horkheimer published the first of his collected essays in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*. The concluding piece in *Kritische Theorie*, dated 1941, deals critically with the new phenomenon of "culture for the masses", and in other ways anticipates the author's subsequent conversion to a decidedly pessimistic view of present-day society.

The 1947 work still maintained an uneasy balance between the militant rationalism of the earlier essays and a growing realization that the heritage of the Enlightenment was ambiguous—whence the title *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. By 1967 a collection of studies published under the title *Zur Kritik der instrumentellen Vernunft* rang the changes on a theme already familiar from Professor Herbert Marcuse's writings: modern industrial society has found its intellectual complement in an "instrumental" employment of reason which lacks the critical dimension because it has been emptied of philosophy in the traditional sense of the term. The introduction to *Kritische Theorie* makes the additional point that Marxism—the esoteric faith of the Institute and its collaborators during the 1930s—has become inadequate, the industrial proletariat having been integrated within the social order in East and West alike. This preface is dated "April 1968", yet the subsequent upheaval in France is unlikely



Marcuse

to have shaken Horkheimer's conviction that the era of proletarian revolution is closed. For the rest, verbal applause of "the onward march of totalitarian bureaucracy" is dismissed as "pseudo-revolutionary", and liberal democracy, where it still exists, is characterized as the lesser evil, in terms unlikely to appeal to the student Left, in West Germany or elsewhere. Max Horkheimer, in the 1930s very much a Marxist-Leninist, may today not unfairly be said to have become a Social Democrat: albeit one who invokes Rosa Luxemburg's rather than Kautsky's critique of Bolshevism.

After this brief but inevitable detour through the maze of contemporary ideological affiliations, can one specify a connexion between Horkheimer's philosophy and his politics? He naturally affirms that what has vanished since the 1930s is not his personal faith in the enduring importance of reason and freedom, but the fleeting chance of transcending bourgeois liberalism in the direction of authentic socialism. At the same time, however, his 1968 preface strikes an idiosyncratic note unusual, to say the least, in a former spokesman of the Old Left:

> Metaphysical pessimism, an implicit element of every genuine materialist thought, has always been familiar to me. My first acquaintance with philosophy was mediated by Schopenhauer; adherence to the teaching of Hegel and Marx, the will to comprehend and transform social reality, did not, for all the political antagonism, blot out my experience of his philosophy.

In fairness it has to be said that this affirmation is borne out by the 1933 essay, "Materialismus und Metaphysik"—perhaps the most impressive piece of writing ever to emerge from Horkheimer, and certainly the most moving. For the impassioned commitment to Marxism was backed up by sentiments remote from the nauseating cheerfulness normally characteristic of "progressive" literature. Materialism, the reader was told, cannot fail to qualify its hopes for a better future by a sombre recollection of what it has cost mankind to emerge from pre-history, and thus it necessarily carries a pessimistic trait: "Past injustice cannot be made good. The sufferings endured by earlier generations obtain no redress." Since the author of these words was in 1933 fully committed to what in the same essay he discreetly styled "dialectical materialism", it does seem that his earlier immersion in Kant and Schopenhauer had left lasting traces. This severe training also showed up to advantage in his subsequent critical treatment of positivist and vitalist currents. Clearly there was some advantage in having come to intellectual maturity at a time when rationalism and humanism were already under attack, but still able to mobilize philosophical champions not intimidated by the prestige of scientism.

For all that, Horkheimer's writings during the decade from 1932 to 1941, now reprinted unchanged from the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, make it plain why the intellectual position then assumed by their author turned out in the end to be untenable. Alfred Schmidt's friendly but not uncritical epilogue to *Kritische Theorie* is nicely balanced between the respectful attention due to a veterin of battles fought and lost long ago, and the need for a reconsideration of what Horkheimer and Adorno in the 1930s termed "critical theory", and what is perhaps more commonly known as Hegelian Marxism. Schmidt, who represents the next generation—he was born in 1931—is himself the author of a penetrating exegetical study of one particular aspect of Marx's thought which for obvious reasons did not achieve much attention in the stormy 1930s (his doctoral dissertation, *Der Begriff der Natur in der Lehre von Marx*, the publication of which was sponsored by Adorno and Walter Dirks, representing the reconstituted Institut für Sozialforschung).

That Marx was primarily a social philosopher, and that his "materialism" had little in common with the dogmatic metaphysical neo-Hegelianism of the later Engels: these commonplaces of present-day discussion in Continental Europe were not so much argued by Schmidt as taken for granted. This assessment in turn rested upon the critical and exegetical labours performed three decades earlier by Horkheimer, Marcuse, Adorno and their associates. And yet the "critical theory" of the 1930s, for all its self-conscious awareness of the distance separating it from the received truths of Soviet scholasticism, had not altogether emancipated itself from some of the fallacies inherent in the notion of "dialectical materialism", as interpreted by the "School of Frankfurt" in those days. For the political sphere this is obvious, and Schmidt's 1968 epilogue makes no bones about it: the Institute's "revolutionary conception" (as he tactfully puts it) had to be abandoned "under the pressure of world-political events". But it also applies to Horkheimer's and Adorno's interpretation of the "critical theory", and ultimately to the theory itself, in so far as it fell short of its proclaimed purpose.

It is noteworthy that Schmidt cites more or less orthodox French communist theoreticians such as Louis Althusser and Roger Garaudy, alongside non-party heretics such as Sartre and Henri Lefebvre, among the representatives of a "new Marxism" about to take shape in the aftermath of an increasingly tedious debate between old-fashioned Marxist-Leninists on the one hand and new-fangled existentialists and eschatologists on the other. It is likewise significant that, for all his reservations in detail, he still subscribes to the programmatic aim formulated by Horkheimer and Adorno in the 1930s: that of establishing a connexion between critical theory and political practice. That this practice is itself theoretical inasmuch as it is necessarily guided by analysis of the actual situation, not by romantic rebelliousness and unmediated rejection of the status quo in the anarchist manner—goes without saying both for the authors of the "critical theory" and for their latter-day descendants.

What, then, is it that differentiates Horkheimer's position in the 1930s from the sophisticated neo-Marxism of the present Frankfurt school and its French or Italian counterparts? Primarily, it would seem, a new awareness that Marx's approach—not to mention its popularization by Engels and others—was not wholly adequate to the task he had set himself: that of transforming philosophical "interpretation" into "revolutionary practice". With the wisdom acquired by painful experience it has become possible to see more clearly why the realization of the "critical theory" did not yield the results expected by its authors. At a remove this also applies to the original enterprise of the Frankfurt school, an undertaking which ran parallel to the more orthodox (in the Leninist sense) theorizing associated with the name of Georg Lukács.

In both cases the attempt fell short of its goal in so far as it failed to establish a satisfactory link between theory and practice. But it also ran into a purely intellectual obstacle ultimately traceable to the dissolution of Hegel's school and the rise of "historicism" in the sense defined above: the relativization of concepts and values which classical liberalism and classical socialism once had in common. In the end, there was not much to choose between the assertion that these values were class-bound, and the notion that they represented a passing phase in the history of "Western man" "German Christianity", the *Volksgeist*, or some other vehicle of evolution. Once philosophy had collapsed into sociology, the question whether class or race was to be regarded as the privileged instrument of a wholesale transformation of values reduced itself to an arbitrary choice between hypostatized agents of destiny.

In the light of what has been said about Horkheimer's genuine attachment to humanism, these remarks may seem unfair. It is perfectly true that on occasion he displayed a clear awareness of the situation, and indeed did his best to preserve the heritage of German idealism against neo-positivist scientism and romantic organicism alike (see "Der neueste Angriff auf die Metaphysik"). That relativism in theory corresponded to Fascism in practice had been publicly affirmed by Mussolini, and Horkheimer in 1937 gave himself the satisfaction of citing the Duce as witness in his eloquent address to an invisible jury whose members were invited to consider the potentially disastrous result of yielding to the temptation to cast philosophy overboard. But this circumstance illuminates the paradoxical nature of the whole enterprise, for the author undermined his whole position by presenting the reader with a thoroughly historicist and relativist critique of neo-liberalism and positivism. The tolerance of the Enlightenment, he observed, had originally comported a critique of "feudalism", whereas modern philosophy represented

> the ideological capitulation of liberalism before the new autocracy, the confession of its impotence, the transition to an authoritarian viewpoint.

Whether accurate or not—and one notes with some amusement that Bertrand Russell was among the thinkers whose utterances provoked these reflections in 1937—Horkheimer's characterization of the doctrines he objected to was thoroughly reductionist:

> Neo-romantic metaphysics and radical positivism both have their roots in the sad situation of large portions of the middle class who have lost their faith in the ability to improve matters by virtue of their practicality (*durch eigene Tüchtigkeit*) . . .

Possibly, but what on earth does this kind of sociologism have to do with a philosophical critique of inadequate or self-contradictory standpoints?

It would be tedious to pursue this theme through the two stout volumes of Horkheimer's collected essays. The central dilemma remains the same from start to finish, and it is never resolved. The moralist, whose normative values are plainly derived from Kant and his successors, is shackled to the historicist who unwittingly relativizes his own utterances in the act of "unmasking" his opponents. Challenged by a critic to produce his philosophical credentials, Horkheimer replies that political philosophy

> long ago transformed itself into the critique of political economy. Either it unmasks the historical situation or it falls prey to belletrist epigones.

In the 1930s Marx's Paris Manuscripts were already available, but the draft of what later became *Capital*, the *Grundrisse* of 1857-58, had not yet been published. Hence the "critical theory" was unable to make the point that the author of *Capital* was a humanist whose scientific studies concretized an eminently philosophical anthropology. Had Horkheimer established a valid connexion between his critical excursions (often extremely acute) and his normative judgments, the Frankfurt group would not in the end have fallen be-

commitment and its un... gamble on the realization of ... in the U.S.S.R. As it was, the ... repudiation of communism straight to a reaffirmation of ... Horkheimer in the 1930s, ha... scribed as bourgeois liberalism ... 1947 *Dialektik der Aufklärung* ... ten in collaboration with Ad... even toyed with romantic ... whose Nietzschean origin was ... for all to see—"Odysseus ... Mythos und Aufklärung".

What really matters, of co... not the spiritual biography of ... heimer, Adorno, Marcuse or ... other member of the circle orig... associated with the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, but the major ... lem which they somehow fac... solve in the 1930s and 1940s. ... Hegelian training had ... them against the positivist reaction ... "value judgments" have no ... within the serious business of ... ing the "real" world. They ... clearly enough that the fatal ... dichotomy was part of the ... sickness which had provoked the ... romantic attempt to revive tradition ... metaphysics—not to mention ... political frenzy culminating in ... Third Reich. Even if in those ... they were understandably a ... vague about the precise context ... between the anthropology of ... young Marx and the ethico-politi... assumptions built into the ... of *Capital*, they had at any ... grasped the central importance of ... theory-practice problem. That ... perceive the true nature of the ... in the act of changing it—this ... at least could be inferred from ... 1845 *Feuerbach Theses* alone. Here ... the philosophical dimension ... Marx's thought did not have ... be sacrificed in the name of ... tism. As Mr. Alasdair MacIntyre ... has recently put it, in the revised ... tion of his *Marxism and Christianity* ...

> the nature of the world is such that ... discovering the order of things I ... discover my own nature and those ... which beings like myself must pursue ... if we are not to be frustrated in certain ... predictable ways. Knowledge ... nature and society is thus the primary ... determinant of action.

This having been the unspoken credo of the Frankfurt school, one may legitimately ask why it was never clearly spelt out. Perhaps a residual commitment to the "dialectical materialism" of Engels and his successors, including Lukács and Lenin, made it appear hazardous to anchor "scientific socialism" in the Feuerbachian anthropology of the Paris Manuscripts. But, in so far as authentic theoretical issues come into play, it is fairly obvious now that the school had come up against an unresolved dilemma close to the heart of the Hegelian inheritance. Both Hegel and Marx had exempted their pronouncements on the human condition from the relativism potentially inherent in their approach, on the grounds that a philosophy conscious of its own historical role is thereby placed in a privileged position.

Such a claim is implicit in Hegel and explicit in Marx, who had already perceived the threatening dimension of "historicism", but was confident that he possessed an answer to it: the theorist who commits himself to the arduous task of "changing" a world which is *verkehrte Welt*, a world standing on its head, is able to universalize the values of the oppressed class, because that class endures in extreme form the alienation imposed by history upon the whole of mankind. Historicism is a problem only for those who are blind to the logic of the total process. For the same reason, the fact-value dichotomy is troublesome only for the solipsist individual who confronts a "given" world and then wonders whether he ought to do something about it; whereas if he identifies himself with the effort to "stand the world on its feet", the tedious but necessary business of scientific analysis need not be artificially shored off from the world-transforming and self-transforming realm of praxis. They are aspects of one and the same struggle to turn barbarism, sub-human pre-history into authentic history.

Well and good. But what if the enterprise issues in the monstrosities of Stalinism, or in the overpowering boredom of the atomized "affluent society", with its pop culture and pop sociology in the place once occupied by religion or metaphysics? Worse still, what if it turns out that

...ious ways of producing the ...cial and technocratic society ... later twentieth century? ... we seem to have the cou... dilemma, and Marxism ... has no answer to ... Horkheimer's disillusioned ... to liberalism, Adorno's revival ... metaphysics (plain for all ... realist metaphysics even as in his *Negative Dialektik* of ... and Marcuse's attempt to com... the politics of anarchism with ... philosophy of the early German ... critics a curious hybrid, more ... suitable for its personal ... than for its illumination of ... problems of contemporary ...

What currently distinguishes the ... of the democratic Left in ... Germany from Marcuse's ... can may be inferred from the ... action of essays published last ... on the occasion of the philo... seventieth birthday) under ... title *Antworten auf Herbert ...* Edited and introduced by ... Jürgen Habermas, himself ... distinguished sociologist as well as ... disciple in the Hegelian-Marxian ... *Marcuse*, this little volume brings ... a number of exegetical and ... studies which add up to a ... devastating critique of ... ontological credo—ultim... derived from Heidegger, whose ... he was before turning to Hegel ... Marx. Few people seem to be ... that Marcuse's first major pub... *Hegels Ontologie und die ... einer Theorie der Geschichtlichkeit* (1932), was an attempt ... interpret the Hegelian legacy in ... derived from Heidegger's "ex... analysis": a fairly technical ... which is confined to those ... to master German philosophical ... not to mention the lan... This is decidedly a pity, since ... attempt to discuss Marcuse's ... utterances in abstraction from ... philosophical roots in the Frei... of the 1920s misses an import... dimension of his thought. Who... doubts this is invited to consult ... Schmidt's contribution: not ... mention the editorial preface ... performs the remarkable feat ... doing justice to Marcuse's ... tour de force in the 1940s ... unprecedented fusion of phe...nology with Marxism—while ... not a stone intact of the poli... theoretical tower of Babel he ... been busy erecting during the ... decade. Habermas is clearly very ... of Marcuse, whose old-world ... is indeed difficult to resist. ... clearly he is not enamoured ... most recent writings, or of their ... on a section of the New Left ... combines political shock tac... with veneration for Rosa Lux... One can see why the more ... student spokesmen fear ... Habermas, just as they ... those Czechoslovak workers ... intellectuals who actually believe ... democracy, and in some cases have ... their lives for it. When one has ... years, establishing a Manich... distinction between "the social... revolution" (good) and "social... reformism" (bad), it is ... to be confronted with a ... point that cannot be subsumed ... these simplistic categories. It is ... more irritating to be told that in ... with the students, of ... one does not cut a very heroic ...

There remains the recourse to ... World romanticism with ... rather than China as the pre... model, plus the critique of ... industrial society, as set out, ... example, in *One-Dimensional Man*. What a genuine Marxist socio... thinks of Marcuse's "techno... determinism" may be in... from Claus Offe's contribution ... *Antworten auf Herbert Marcuse*, ... "the tradition of classical ...ism" is confronted with Mar... analytical model: a model in... which (save for the author's ... desiderata) from the analysis ... modern society developed by ... theorists of the extreme Right; ... Freyer, Helmut Schelsky, and ... Gehlen. The common factor ... conviction that modern science ... technology must fatally result in ... establishment of a technocratic ... which perpetuates the aliena... man, disintegrates the sub... of political democracy, and ... socialism to the attic.

Marcuse naturally deplores all this, whereas the former Fascists—now converted to technocracy, just like Von Braun and other organizers of

the defeatist assertion that modern man has been degraded to the status of a "one-dimensional" pseudo-being effectively manipulated by forces beyond his control; a "power elite" in charge of a reified technology whose immanent logic undercuts the traditional Marxist analysis. That Marcuse's *grand refusal* is not just aimed at capitalism, but at industrial society as such, should have been evident since the publication of *One-Dimensional Man* in 1964. But it has taken the student revolt, and the current revival of anarchism in general, to make it plain that what we have here is no longer a socialist theory at all, but an ideology of pure rebellion against technological rationality in every shape or form.

The authoritative re-statement of the classical socialist position, in contrast to Marcuse's anarchic utopianism, is to be found in the work of Professor Jürgen Habermas, starting with his important essay collection published in 1963 under the title *Theorie und Praxis*, and concretized more recently in his critical analysis of post-Kantian philosophy, *Erkenntnis und Interesse*. Taken together with his earlier historical study of the genesis and structure of bourgeois society, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, these writings represent the most impressive body of work in philosophy and sociology to have come out of Central Europe during the 1960s. They also provide a reference point against which the continuing relevance of the Frankfurt School can be measured. Habermas at the age of forty himself professor of philosophy and sociology in Frankfurt—is in some sense the heir of this particular tradition. At the same time it is plain that he has by now both assimilated and transcended the heritage of the Institut für Sozialforschung and its surviving members. The outcome of this theoretical and practical endeavour is an intellectual synthesis which conserves the original purpose of the "critical theory", while freeing it from the dead-weight of the German metaphysical tradition—and all this, *mirabile dictu*, without lapsing into positivist scientism, whether linguistic or structuralist. In fact much of his work in philosophy has been devoted to a systematic demolition of the inflated claims made by, or on behalf of, the empiricist school.

It is not altogether easy to assess the work of a scholar whose professional competence extends from the logic of science to the sociology of knowledge, by way of Marx, Hegel and the more recondite sources of the European metaphysical tradition. There is no lack of competent specialists in any of these disciplines. Equally there are still a few "generalists" about—Marcuse is the best known, but there are others—who take the entire domain of contemporary philosophy and sociology for their province: only to be caught out by the specialists whenever they venture beyond the narrow range of their real expertise. The baffling thing about Habermas is that, at an age when most of his colleagues have painfully established control over one corner of the field, he has made himself master of the whole, in depth and breadth alike. There is no corner-cutting, no facile evasion of difficulties or spurious enunciation of conclusions unsupported by research; whether he is refuting Popper, dissecting the pragmatism of Charles Peirce, delving into the medieval antecedents of Schelling's metaphysics, or bringing Marxist sociology up to date, there is always the same uncanny mastery of the sources, welded to an enviable talent for clarifying intricate logical puzzles. He seems to have been born with a faculty for digesting the toughest kind of material and then refashioning it into orderly wholes. Hegel, whom he resembles at least in his appetite for encyclopedic knowledge, possessed this capacity in the highest degree, but he was cursed with an abominable style and a perverse fondness for obscurity, whereas Habermas writes as clearly and concisely as any empiricist. If his work does nothing else, it should dispel the notion that German philosophers invariably gain an undeserved reputation for profundity because no one can make out what they are saying.

The 1963 essay collection *Theorie und Praxis*, itself the sequel to a brief historical study of the genesis of modern society, starts with a reconsideration of the naturalist law tradition since Aquinas, and ends with a number of critical excursions

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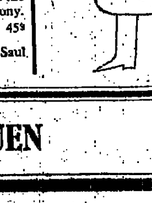
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aimed at neo-Marxists like Ernst Bloch on the one hand, conservatives like Karl Löwith on the other. In between, Habermas subjects the Hegelian-Marxian heritage to the kind of analytical treatment which admittedly comes more easily to German writers than to outsiders unfamiliar with the finer shades of this particular topic. Even so, it needed a quite abnormal capacity for joining dialectical logic to historical insight to bring out the crucial link between "critique" and "crisis" in the way Habermas does in what is perhaps the most illuminating treatment the subject has yet received from a philosopher.

No one who has digested the relevant chapter is likely to suppose that the only alternative to the positivist misinterpretation of Marxism—shared by revisionists like Kolakowski, whom Habermas demolishes in a few pages—is the existentialist anthropology of radical theologians enamoured of the Paris Manuscripts. It took uncommon penetration to rediscover the precise significance which the term "critique" possessed within the objective structure of classical and modern thought for all those philosophers and non-philosophers, from the Greeks onwards, who prepared the way for Hegel and Marx. It also took remarkable detachment to perceive that the "critical theory"—so described in the 1930s by the Frankfurt school when the "crisis" of the European civil war was at its peak—stood and fell with an assessment of the historical situation which is no longer tenable—although paradoxically the Marxian method of social analysis has not been invalidated by the collapse of its unspoken metaphysical assumptions. The reader who has assimilated what Habermas has to say on this tricky subject can save himself the bother of wandering backwards and forwards between Marx's empiricist critics, his existentialist defenders—including Sartre—and the surviving adherents of Soviet orthodoxy. They are all taken care of: that is to say, left at the post.

Erkenntnis und Interesse is a different kettle of fish, if that is not an unduly colloquial way of characterizing a rigorously professional analysis of positivism, pragmatism, and their Kantian antecedents. It may be convenient to quote the opening passage of the preface:

> I have undertaken the historically oriented attempt to reconstruct the prehistory of modern positivism (guided by) a systematic analysis of the connexion between cognition and interest. Whoever investigates the progressive dissolution of the theory of knowledge, leaving in its place a theory of science, makes his way across abandoned phases of reflexion. To retrace one's course along this route, with a perspective turned towards the original starting-point, may be of help in bringing back the forgotten experience of reflexion. The denial of reflexion is positivism.

The execution of this programme obliges author and reader to traverse the waterless desert of scientism and pragmatism, from its original source in Comte, by way of Ernst Mach and C. S. Peirce, to Popper's logic of science—already the target of Habermas's critique in the 1963 Adorno *Festschrift*. The chapter on Peirce, which does full justice to the founder of pragmatism without inflating his importance in the current transatlantic fashion, constitutes by itself sufficient reason for the book to be translated into English without delay (and introduced into the syllabus of American universities).

The real originality of *Erkenntnis und Interesse* lies elsewhere. Alongside a critical account of the empiricist tradition; or rather intertwined with it, Habermas presents an analysis of the manner in which epistemology in general, and Kantian idealism in particular, dissolved into the conflicting theoretical standpoints of positivist scientism and post-Hegelian historicism (Dilthey) with Marx's "metacritique of Hegel" inserted along the way as the (not wholly convincing) solution of a problem already posed by Kant and Fichte: that of mediating between the perception of reality by the individual thinking mind, and the inevitable conditioning of that mind by the socio-historical context.

The principle of criticism as "the union of cognition and interest" is traced back to its Kantian source: and at the same time projected forward, to its embodiment in the scientific work of Freud and the polemical writings of Nietzsche, for whom a crude interest in psychology provided the means of "unmasking" philosophy as the illusory self-gratification of the reflecting subject. The twofold movement of modern thought thus appears as a dialectical interconnexion between rival attempts to transcend the horizon of classical rationalist philosophy. Once the peculiar logic of this process has been grasped, one can see why the critical dissection of Peirce's pragmatism—a brain-cracking affair which should satisfy the most rigorous of contemporary logicians—is immediately followed by a destructive analysis of Dilthey's hermeneutics, in turn succeeded by an illuminating discussion of language and its function within the self-interpretation of *Geisteswissenschaft*.

The fascination of *Erkenntnis und Interesse* lies in the way Habermas brings out the intrinsic logic of this progressive dissolution of the rationalist heritage through the dialectical interplay of standpoints (positivism, pragmatism, historicism) rooted in assumptions originally shared by scientists and historians alike. The conclusion—namely that a radical critique of cognition (*Erkenntnistheorie*) must take the form of sociology (*Gesellschaftstheorie*)—seems wholly convincing: the more so since Habermas qualifies his acceptance of the Marxian approach by a careful dissection of an unfinished anthropology modelled on the natural sciences. He perceives the positivist strain in Marx and treats it as the source of later misunderstandings. Marx, he thinks, might have done more to clarify the enduring relevance of philosophy vis-à-vis the sciences:

> Philosophy is conserved within science as critique. A theory of society which purports to be the historical self-consciousness of the (human) species cannot simply negate philosophy. Rather the heritage of philosophy transforms itself into the critique of ideology, which in turn determines the method of scientific analysis.

So much for the structuralists, with their neo-positivist yearning for a science of society emancipated from history and philosophy alike.

Now plainly this orientation is itself open to criticism on the grounds that it translates into Marxian terms the familiar themes of German idealism. But then it so happens that Marx came out of this particular tradition. Among the services Habermas renders to the contemporary student of philosophy, not the least is the recovery of a dimension lost or abandoned in the heyday of positivist scientism. What he proposes is not a "return" to an irrecoverable past, but a *deeper* understanding of what was implied by the idealist approach that antedated the collapse into empirical practicality. He does not ignore the element of truth in the pragmatist enterprise, but stresses the failure of its originators to clarify the theory-practice relationship:

> Peirce and Dilthey had encountered the practical foundation (*Interessenbasis*) of scientific understanding, but they did not reflect it as such. They did not form a notion of interest-orientated cognition, and did not really comprehend what such a notion intends.

Habermas's own position is the reverse of a pseudo-materialist reductionism. It amounts to equating the concept of "reason" with a "will to reason", or "interest in reason", explicitly described as "liberating" (*seinem emanzipatorischen Erkenntnisinteresse*). The root of this conception is traced to Kant, and more particularly to Fichte, who subordinated theoretical to practical cognition, and on this foundation developed the notion of a liberating, self-activating "interest" inherent in practical reason as such. There is no insuperable gulf separating material interest from rationality; they converge in practical activity that subjects both the self and the world to the freely chosen rule of reason.

This tardy illumination of a neglected aspect of the idealist heritage is all the more welcome because German philosophical speculation since Schopenhauer and Nietzsche has systematically obscured the fact that Hegel, for all his political conservatism, embodied one aspect of the Enlightenment tradition. The standard equation of German metaphysics with irrationalism has its roots in an incomprehension of what Hegelianism really signified—and not only for the Left Hegelians. In this respect Habermas is the perfect antidote to Heidegger and his pupils, but he also introduces a corrective to a viewpoint made respectable by writers like Löwith who are innocent of Heidegger's extravagances (not to mention his political attitudes after 1933), but share his longing for a return to a pre-Kantian ontology of the Aristotelian type. Such an attitude implies the belief that modernism—in the narrow sense of post-French Revolution development, or in the wider sense of post-medievalism—represents the secularization of a religious heritage (Hellenic or Christian, according to taste).

In *Theorie und Praxis* Habermas devoted a few passing reflections to the transformation of *Geschichtstheologie* into *Geschichtsphilosophie*, albeit with the accent on the radical innovation introduced by the "global consciousness" of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. For a systematic analysis of European philosophy and its Hellenistic sources one must turn to a very different work: Professor Hans Blumenberg's *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit*. This is one of those great treatises—historical, critical and speculative all at once—which for some reason do not seem to flourish outside Germany. Erudition by itself cannot explain the phenomenon, although Blumenberg's learning is in fact quite staggering, while his range encompasses the entire history of philosophy since the pre-Socratics. Inherent in his attitude is an urge towards systematization which, to put it crudely, is itself metaphysical and thus the antithesis to positivism and historicism alike. Within limits this statement is also applicable to Adorno, Marcuse and Habermas — hence their refusal to accept the fact-value dichotomy as an ultimate datum for the reflecting mind. But it has been left for Blumenberg to write a major treatise on the metaphysical tradition which unites intellectual history with a critical dissection of the concept of "secularization": a concept that has served two generations of writers in their efforts to make sense of the modern predicament. The fact that most of these writers were either theologians, or philosophers sympathetic to a theological perspective, does not, of course, invalidate the usefulness of this approach, but it does suggest that the rest of us have perhaps been a trifle too ready to operate with a set of notions originally devised to explain what their authors could only see as a falling-away from the true that is to say, the theocentric-view of man and the universe.

What Blumenberg has done, to put it briefly, is to describe the disintegration of the medieval world-view as a consequence of latent contradictions already present in the scholastic tradition: ultimately in the synthesis of early Christianity and neo-Platonism inherited by the European middle ages. However, this formulation applies only the feeblest sort of process to the importance of a work which the author is no mere historian but an original thinker in his own right, equipped with the sort of synthesizing faculty which was the pride of German scholarship in its great age—and its peculiar curse when put to destructive uses by obscurantists like Heidegger and charlatans like Spengler. By way of a belated revenge for these disaster these writers have inflicted upon their own country and all Europe, the half-buried tradition of the Enlightenment has now been disinterred: not by a shallow positivist, but by a philosopher who has thought his way through to a critical analysis of the problem that kept scholasticism and metaphysics going for a millennium after the classical tradition had run into the sands. This is all that can be said, within present limits, about a work perhaps best described as the answer to Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit*. One may also, if one so wishes, read it as an implicit rejoinder to the work of Catholic philosophers such as Friedrich Heer and Hans Urs von Balthasar. What Blumenberg has in common with these influential writers is the grand manner, the mastery of the scholastic tradition, a profound awareness of the continuity underlying two millennia of European intellectual history. What distinguishes him from them is the absence of those theological commitments which in the end make even the most learned apologists sound a trifle tedious to the outsider.

It may be as well to add that, for all his fundamental rationalism, Blumenberg shares some of the stylistic peculiarities of the school whose intellectual monopoly he has for ever destroyed. *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit* is not a book for the beginner, or for anyone who does not already possess an adequate grasp of classical, medieval and modern philosophy. But for someone willing to make the effort it illuminates large tracts of a landscape which theologians and obscurantist metaphysicians had systematically blacked out—nowhere more successfully than in Germany, where Irrationalism had already triumphed in philosophy before its prophets turned their attention to politics. It is no more than a minor and belated satisfaction that the catastrophe they promoted should at last have terminated their disastrous reign in the very sphere of historico-theological speculation they had for so long and so unchallengeably made their own.

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Edward Bond

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Uneasy alliance

ALBERTO MORAVIA: *Command and I Will Obey You.* Translated by Angus Davidson. 190pp. Secker and Warburg. 30s.

The decline of Moravia as a realist dies not—perhaps merely because his latest novel is about a prostitute. Or perhaps for the deeper reason that he is, as Bernard Wall has labelled him in his autobiography, the modern western man at his most privileged stage: restless, involved in considerable activity, and fundamentally unhappy: vitalistic man reduced to the verge of the life of, as opposed to contemplative art. Whichever it is, the idea that Moravia as an outspoken observer of the current scene, a reliable guide to modern manners; that he does in fact his writing has never been "realistic" in the sense of photographically accurate, it has never conjured a palpable, recognizable world. His characters have always been symbols and abstractions rather than solid individuals that one might meet. his settings memorable for their theatrical, outsize quality rather than the exactness and reliability of their detail. He has painterly qualities of an impressive, large-scale sort: the hands attic, studio or bedroom seems airy, luminous, without walls or windows; one is never sure of its size or shape. one could never find one's way around his flats. In his recent novels, which have been preoccupied with form, with ideas, with patterns of behaviour rather than with the facts of what people do, he has admitted this anti-realism of his: a bold thing for a man whose reputation is based on a totally opposite image. "A relentless realist in his unflattering representation of human nature", is a typical dictionary description of him. "But his objectivity is impaired", this particular dictionary quellingly continues, "by his preoccupation with sex."

Objectivity, impaired or not, is completely out in the stories contained in *Command and I Will Obey You*. And so, pretty much, is that old preoccupation with sex. The stories are concerned. much like Moravia's intricate novel *The Lie*, with a subjective reality that goes far beyond realism. They are all written in the first person; the narrator varies, but is generally poor, lonely, meek, bullied: often henpecked, sometimes almost entirely without personality or identity. Except when he deals with the bourgeoisie he knows or once knew—so well, Moravia is unable to conjure up a class, a social atmosphere: in these stories his philosophic tramp, his mild cuckolded husbands, his lodgers, clerks, office boys and poor students, all the humble and humiliated voices that describe their doings, are not convincing as social beings.

They are pegs on which to hang his experiments, artistic or philosophical, and each story illustrates a point, large or small, sometimes made plain in a preamble by the narrator. ("Everything that grows has for some time interested me", one of the stories begins, followed by nearly two pages of speculation before the action, set in a family of acned adolescents, begins.) Long ago, in an introduction to *The Woman of Rome*, Moravia explained his views on simple, uneducated narrators: he made them speak not as they actually spoke but as they would if they could (even after this the label "realistic" was still hung on him); and it has always been an uneasy alliance between his precise, demanding mind, well-honed on many literatures, and the ill-organized, half literate mouthpieces he often chooses. Angus Davidson's translation here reflects something of this uneasiness: as English it reads a little stiffly, but that is scarcely his fault—the stiffness is in the method, in the discrepancy between Moravia's ideas and means of expression, in the impossibility of reconciling for mal theories of the most elaborate sort with practitioners as rude and tong cannot help feeling as little understood by their creator.

Tooth and claw

GIONO: *To the Slaughterhouse.* Translated by Norman Glass. 159pp. Peter Owen. 35s.

The First World War has come to an end. The first batch of men called up to fight in the trenches in the North. Conscription reaches out into the hills, decimating the mountain shepherds who must combine their flocks and take them to where the few remaining old men can look after them. The day after the men have left the enormous flock is driven through their village. blindly, stupidly following, leaving the drop-outs to fend for themselves in their own blood, pitifully.

Symbols such as this abound in *To the Slaughterhouse*. Some are stained and painfully blatant. For example, one of the men from the village returns home from the trenches after having his hand deliberately shot through in order to be discharged. A fox's paw is brought back trapped in a snare, that the animal has bitten off in order to escape: "That set him free. It takes courage." Others are grotesque—a rabbit is slaughtered and prepared in the kitchen while, in another room, a woman tells how best to use its blood and listens to the account of the fate of a German cobbler trying up to die on some railings in the village. For the most part, however, they are unobtrusive, steering between the imperceptible and the ludicrous.

The very construction of the narrative is built around this parallel—this amalgam of interconnected scenes the trenches and the Provençal village, depicting the gradual disintegration of a peaceful, pastoral way of life before a war none of the people involved can understand. The underlying parallelism shows the horror and bestiality of that war as a grotesque amplification of the less pretty features of that pastoral life that are taken for granted. The slaughter of an animal, the desire to get hold of another man's farm—all are blown up and distorted.

Playing the game of symbol hunting does not do justice to the craft of Giono, at times self-conscious but for the most part highly sophisticated. His use of imagery goes deeper than the simple highlighting of a facet of behaviour, rather than the irony of the contrast between the village and the war. The constant cross-referencing between human behaviour and the non-human or coincidental world around it implies more than a casual connection between man and an impartial, disinterested Nature. Giono's worldview is firmly based on a horror of man's distortion of the Nature of which he is part and on the hope that by seeing more clearly his place he will be able to redeem himself: on the one hand the horror of a corpse's gaze created by a lump of brain in an empty eye socket. and on the other the breathing of a ram on a new-born child.

"The" Back to Nature" theme advocated by Giono is not likely to be as telling now as it might have been forty years ago when *To the Slaughterhouse* was published. To the average commuter a flock of sheep is no more than another piece of rustic irrelevance. Nor is there now anything very startling about Giono's vision of suffering and of the war that brought it on. Nevertheless the skill with which these elements are incorporated in a powerfully written narrative, in a very readable translation, more than compensates for their inadequacy.

Stumbling

B. TRAVEN: *The Bridge in the Jungle.* 216pp. Cape. 25s.

Speculation about the identity of the author of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and *The Death Ship* is not going to be interrupted by the death of B. Traven in Mexico on March 26 this year. The quest for Traven has been going on for some forty years now. It has been an extra-literary pursuit, and one that has tended to draw attention away from the excellence of the novels. Unfortunately, though, the one biographical problem that is relevant to Traven's novels is (to this reviewer's knowledge, at least) still unresolved. In what language did Traven write? If Traven was an American, why were some of his books published in English in translations from the German? Traven's clumsiness with the English language suggests that it was not his native tongue. But is it Teutonicism or incompetence that puts the verb so resolutely at the end of this sentence from *The Bridge in the Jungle*: ". . . I groped my way towards the corner where the bed I had slept in last night and the night before was"?

The Bridge in the Jungle certainly has its fair share of incompetence. The dedication has all the big-heartedness of our own Adrian Mitchell: "To the mothers/of every nation/of every people/of every race/of every color/of every creed/of all animals and birds/of all creatures alive/on earth." The first words of the book are scarcely more promising:

> "Stick'm up, stranger!"
>
> "?"
>
> "Can't you hear, sap? Up with your fins. And you'd better snap into it!"

This unfortunate B-feature opening has almost nothing to do with the rest of the book, which (like many of Traven's works) is a fable. the moral of which (again typical of Traven) is a denunciation of capitalism and colonialism. In the middle of the jungle is a bridge. built and owned by an oil company. The bridge has no railing; the oil company considered them an "unnecessary expense". Manuelito has returned from Texas, where he works for the oil company. His younger brother Carlosito is overjoyed to see him, and is especially proud of the shoes Manuelito has brought him from America. They are the first shoes he has ever had, and he is clumsy in them. There is a party, in the course of which Carlosito is missed by his mother. As she searches for him, her anxiety infects the whole district until the whole population joins in looking for the little boy. In the end he is found drowned in the river. His American shoes have made him lose his footing on the (American) bridge. From here the book describes solemnly, and often impressively, the preparations for the burial, the rapid putrefaction of the corpse, the funeral.

Unfortunately Traven makes his points with relentless heavy-handedness. The implicit criticism of Yankee imperialism is there in the fable: it loses what power it has by being so often made explicit. And a similar crudity informs the book's non-polemical passages:

> Not only the air around me but also the ground seemed to be filled with a never tiring sobbing, whistling, whining, hissing, fizzing, whimpering. A burro brayed plaintively in the prairie. Burros brayed plaintively in the prairie. The jungle was singing its eternal song of joy, love, sadness, pain, tragedy, hope, despair, victory, defeat.

There are altogether too many burros in this book, and the jungle is too full of noises. It is a great pity, because if *The Bridge in the Jungle* was stripped to action it would make a powerful short story.

The price of *When Rain Clouds Gather* by Bessie Head, which was reviewed on p.575 of our issue of May 29, is 25s.

J. P. Mackintosh's *The Devolution of Power* which was reviewed on p.547 of our issue of May 22, is also published as a Penguin special at 6s.

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James and John

CURTIS B. PEPPER: *An Artist and The Pope.* 249pp. Peter Davies. £3 3s.

The reader may have a difficulty with *An Artist and the Pope*. It is written in the popular manner of an *histoire romancée* obscuring the ultimate facts of life and death, which are the real theme. Yet the theme penetrates even through this sensationalist medium. The book was put together with industry by Curtis Bill Pepper, who spent long hours with the sculptor Manzù before a tape recorder. Additional facts were provided by Mgr. Lorì Capovilla, once Pope John's private secretary and now an archbishop. But what lies beneath these "imaginary conversations" is the rugged tragic tone of Giacomo Manzù himself, his life struggle to manipulate recalcitrant clay into his own verbally inarticulate "vision of the world", and finally the impact on him of the most unexpected of soul-mates, John XXIII. As we read between the lines (not always easily) we get yet another portrait of John: one more penetrating than that of the cleverest biographers—the man in the eyes of an intuitive artist.

Perhaps we had better sort out a few facts. Giacomo Manzù came from a depressed family in Bergamo where his father was a sacristan and church hunger-on. His obsession with life and death he could express through women but also through Christ. In the 1930s he had done his famous bas-reliefs such as "Christ with Poverty" and "Christ with Women", or, later, "Christ in our Humanity". And there was the much-contested Christ hanging from the cross by one hand while a fat nude whore (Mary Magdalen or some other woman) is kissing the other hand. Manzù's approach to Christianity has some remote affinity with that of another Italian communist, Pier-Paolo Pavolini, who astonished the world by his *Gospel according to Saint Matthew*. Christ was a brother, a sufferer, a partisan struggling for justice and love in a cold and loveless world.

The story of Manzù's relations with the Vatican began when, through the good offices of Don Giuseppe De Luca (a devoted and famous priest who made his mark on Rome), he was commissioned to design the Doors of Death, one of the entrances to St. Peter's. There were the struggles usual between employers and working artists, whether the employers be churchmen or state officials. Manzù began the big work, then desisted, disparited, because he could not accept Catholic theology about the death of Christ and Mary and was unable to do anything he felt dishonest.

It was at this point that he was invited to make a bust of John XXIII. John took Manzù aback, for he had never thought a Pope could have such sincere and humble ways—or be so tolerant. Two ways of sincerity met in affection, two barely men with utterly different approaches were wrestling with the human condition. They could talk in Bergamesque dialect (Pope John, it will be remembered, came from near Bergamo) while Manzù struggled to get his impressions of John's moods—thoughtful, laughing, expressing certainty or doubt. John even showed him his bare bedroom. A meeting-point between art and holiness was reached which could never have been attained through theology or in concept alone. John encouraged Manzù to continue his work on the Doors of Death and inspired him through the agonies of creation.

The Doors of Death were not in place until after John XXIII had died; and, instead of the panel indicating "Death in Water", Manzù inserted John XXIII in prayer. The figures representing the deaths of Abel, St. Joseph, St. Stephen, St. Gregory, death in space, and death on earth (where the woman is recognizably Manzù's Inga) all have their strange weightlessness. So have the deaths of Christ and of Mary. There is, of course, a theological ambiguity, for even in Christ and Mary Manzù has really portrayed all the sufferings and tortures of mankind in our present stage of evolution. This is not sacred art in Rouault's sense, but the Doors are a statement of great power and creativeness in which Manzù's belief in man merges with Pope John's belief in the Christ-God. There is no resolving the ambiguities of the great statement in conceptual terms.

We get a perception through this story, which is told like a film on television, that Manzù did not like Paul VI much more than he had liked Pius XII. In his eyes Paul seemed aloof at the inauguration of the Doors, as in earlier years Pius had seemed clerical and triumphalist. No one in Italy has captured the people's imagination and the artist's imagination as John XXIII did, and the Doors almost howl for John XXIII and Don Giuseppe De Luca, the dead patrons.

Old and new

ALLEN S. WELLER: *The Joys and Sorrows of Recent American Art.* 185pp. University of Illinois Press. (American University Publishers Group.) £3 15s. 6d.

The Joys and Sorrows of Recent American Art represents the published text of the De Young Lectures in Higher Education given by Mr. Weller at Illinois State University in 1966. In the first Mr. Weller, who is ready to account for and examine (though without approving) any of the "highly personal forms of expression" that constitute the mysterious and unclear language of art in America today, passes in review the work of many American artists of middle age and picks out certain themes, attitudes and techniques for which he attempts to provide a symbolical interpretation in relation to specific developments and currents of thought in our time.

"The artist is, in effect, a prophet and one who reveals much about us all", Mr. Weller writes. And it is in this spirit that he deals in turn with the artists' preoccupation with the machine and its relation to man; with images of violence, and the emphasis artists place on such subjects as death, decay and disintegration; with the way many artists tend to suggest a human presence by incorporating human tracks or human detritus and articles of clothing in their canvases, and with the frequent use of masks; with images signifying loneliness and loss of identity; with the obsessive interest of many artists in "what happens inside, beneath the surface" rather than in "what reveals itself upon the exterior"; with the compulsion artists feel to invent weird and doubtfully functional organisms; and with the fatal confusion prevailing in the minds of artists and the public alike which allows them to equate "incompetence and crudity with freshness and directness".

In his second lecture Mr. Weller takes a longer and more approving look at the work of twelve "contemporary old-masters", all well over sixty, who he believes will continue to seem important to future generations of Americans, and whose works, he tells us, have greatly affected the outlook of the young American artists of today, even though they seem to be doing something entirely different. Mr. Weller states quite frankly that the artists he has selected for this accolade represent no more than a personal choice, but it is of interest to note that the list consists of Hofmann, Hopper, O'Keefe, Albers, Tobey, Burchfield, Davis, Rattner, Ivan Albright, Calder, Samuel Adler and Shahn. Lastly Mr. Weller tackles, as best he can, a certain number of the conflicting currents in American art of the moment, showing how each group tends to approach reality in terms of either "rejection" or "renewal". It is a pity, however, that Mr. Weller has paid no heed to the Californian school of painters and has chosen instead to focus on several dreary academics or funsters such as Marisol, Broderson, Perlstein and Saul, rather than serious artists like Diebenkorn or Levine. The volume contains ninety-two black-and-white plates, three of which also reappear in colour.

The man within

ELSIE ALTMANN LOOS: *Adolf Loos der Mensch.* 191pp. Vienna: Herold. 124 Sch.

What is one to make of this biography of Loos? It is written by one of his wives. She was only married to him from 1919 to 1925, but she is clearly still in love with him. On the very last page she can still list:

His favourite food: chicken, tender vegetables, ice cream, lobster. His favourite drink: *Eiskaffee*. His favourite flower: white lilac. His favourite book: Brehm's *Tierleben*.

And so on. Frau Loos also tells us more or less fairly, it seems—of the other wives. To his first wife he stuck for only two years, the last he married in 1927 or 1928. The second, Bessie Bruce, has a chapter, a remarkably sympathetic one, all to herself. It was through Bessie and Loos that Kokoschka got the commission to paint Auguste Forel, the psychiatrist, perhaps the most masterly of all his portraits. That story we are not told, though Frau Loos mentions Kokoschka several times, as Loos was apparently more attached to him than to any other friend, except perhaps Peter Altenberg. Loos's pupils are also mentioned but no attempt is made to characterize them or to characterize such acquaintances as Le Corbusier, Count Coudenhove Kalergi or Alma Mahler.

Characterizing Loos himself, however, must be regarded as the book's intention; only the character which emerges is alas, far from attractive. Loos was a tyrant: their married life was entirely dictated by his every whim. "Loos was inexorable in every respect", she writes, obviously with glee. She earned most of the money while they were together, but he decided how to spend it. She was much younger than him, and he treated her like a child, always teaching her something or other. Once, she tells, Loos had agreed with an anxious client to sign that he, the architect, would [illegible] himself financially responsible [illegible] some marble facing on which [illegible] sisted fell off and did damage. [illegible] told "Elsili" this, and when she [illegible] "You shouldn't have signed", [illegible] slapped her face. It made both [illegible] them laugh, she adds. No [illegible] attempt of hers to show any [illegible] her own appears in the book. [illegible] their relations cooled and she [illegible] in Vienna while he decided to [illegible] in Paris. But she still paid his [illegible] so it seems.

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On the beginning

JOHN CRAWCOUR WRIGHT (Editor): *Essays in Revolution: The First Phase 1900-1913.* 505pp. Yale University Press. £6 15s.

[illegible]ution, like love, is a word with [illegible] a range of meaning as to be [illegible] almost useless except in a context. [illegible] the one end of the scale there is the [illegible] long and often painful process that [illegible] changes and changes a whole society, [illegible] ring or even dominating the life [illegible] consciousness of all its members. [illegible] the other end is the military-[illegible] coup that changes the faces [illegible] the top and little else, while spouting [illegible] fine phrases. The overthrow of [illegible] Manchu dynasty was closer to [illegible] latter type; and one reason why [illegible] all now Western studies of early [illegible] nineteenth-century Chinese history [illegible] failed to give a strong impression [illegible] that the period is that they have [illegible] tried to focus on this event of [illegible] real importance instead of on [illegible] earlier trends. Even its supposed [illegible] hero, the improbable and peripatetic Dr. Sun Yat-sen, with his [illegible] upper suits and moustaches and [illegible] decades of dirigent conspiring, [illegible] not a key to the period in the way [illegible] Mao Tse-tung is to the China of the [illegible] last four decades.

China in Revolution changes all [illegible] this a welcome and long overdue [illegible] step. This collection of essays on various aspects of the development of [illegible] Chinese politics and society in the [illegible] first thirteen years or so of the century is of course uneven, but the [illegible] introduction by Mary Wright, and [illegible] some of the other pieces, are worth [illegible] serious thought and discussion. If [illegible] there is a common theme running [illegible] through the book it is the growth of [illegible] Chinese nationalism alongside the [illegible] development of the provincial alliances between gentry and merchants [illegible] that were later to provide the political [illegible] base for warlordism. Thus the collapse of the imperial state in 1911 can be more realistically seen as a [illegible] single landmark in a bewildering landscape of change rather than as a huge dominating event. Indeed, the main interest of 1911 and 1912 is in the way social forces to whom the overthrow or continuation of Manchu imperial rule was of secondary interest took advantage of chaos to further their own interests.

As the essays dealing with provincialism show, it was not Sun Yat-sen's muddled ideas and bungled planning that toppled the Ch'ing dynasty but the assertion by the gentry of control of their own provinces. After 1900 and the breakdown of the last effective pretensions of the court to represent gentry interests on a national basis when dealing with foreigners, strong central government became less useful, and the pressure for provincial autonomy to some extent or other grew rapidly. The constitutional movement of the last years of the Ch'ing was essentially a declaration by the landed classes and their merchant friends that they now preferred to look after their own interests directly. It was these classes, not the revolutionary conspirators, who won out in the power struggles before and after 1911.

It is perhaps a sign of the immaturity of the study of Chinese history in the West at least, that such questions as the role of the gentry and bourgeoisie in the twentieth century should only now be coming into the area of serious, academic controversy. In this volume, for example, Professor Wright and others present the gentry as a modernizing and patriotic force because they "read newspapers and wrote letters to the editor", produced radical students and officers in the new armies, and invested in bourgeois-style enterprises. Ichiko Chūzo is rather more plausible in his admirably concise presentation of the case that the gentry succeeded in turning the crisis of 1911 into something like the traditional fall of a decadent dynasty; with conservative landed power taking control locally. Yet Ichiko, too, sees the gentry as the agents of modernization of a sort.

It has long been the contention of most communist historians that 1911 was a bourgeois revolution that failed because of the weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie. Mme. Bergère illuminates the formation and role of a westernized entrepreneurial class around the turn of the century and in the events of 1911-13, questioning the usefulness of the conventional distinction between "compradore" and "national" bourgeoisie. Her essay may not be the last word on the subject, but it gives an excellent basis for further discussion.

Another useful approach to the period is through looking at developments in various provinces. The memoir of Wu Yü-chang translated some years ago gave a good impression of the style and atmosphere of Szechuan politics at the time that can be usefully compared with Dr. Mary Rankin's illuminating study of the relations between traditional and modern rebels in Chekiang.

Other contributors deal with the creation of the new armies, the confused events at Wuhan of October, 1911, the popularity of anarchism among Chinese students in Japan, and the contrasting careers of Yuan Shih-k'ai and Sun Yat-sen. In his piece on the latter Hilrold Schiffrin achieves the rare distinction of making some sense of that puzzling figure. Professor Wright's isolation of nationalism as a main characteristic of the period may be carried too far, but it will certainly make it impossible to neglect it any longer.

This collection of essays includes enough stimulating ideas and good scholarship to deserve to be called outstanding, despite its unevenness. Its main shortcoming is the absence of a study of the agrarian problems that are as basic to this as to any other period of Chinese history; but such a complaint could reasonably be regarded as greedy.

From both shores

D.S. BROMLEY and E.H. KOSSMANN (Editors): *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia.* 264pp. Macmillan. £3 3s.

There is a tendency nowadays for the organizers of international historical conferences (functions which seem to be proliferating like mushrooms—to rush into print with a volume (or volumes) of the papers presented, whose quality does not always justify a wider circulation. This reproach cannot fairly be levelled against the publications of the proceedings of the periodic Anglo-Dutch Historical Conferences, which have been held at discreet intervals alternately on either side of the North Sea since the inaugural one at Oxford in 1959. Unlike some of the unwieldy jamborees with hundreds or even thousands of participants, these modest Anglo-Dutch conferences have been deliberately kept small, with only ten or twelve formal papers, and the participants not more than thirty a side.

Dutch expertise in foreign languages, and not least in English, has enabled the proceedings to be conducted entirely in this language without any strain; and the care taken in their preparation has ensured contributions of high quality. In this reviewer's opinion the present volume is the best of the series, since the third conference (held at London in 1967) had two specific themes—which give it a greater unity than was achieved by the two previous volumes. The first theme was that of the changing attitudes in Britain and the Netherlands to the respective situations of the two countries in the highly unstable power complex which remains such a prominent feature of modern European history. The other a comparative study of aspects of Dutch and British colonial history in Asia, and of their respective retreats from empire.

In a stimulating opening paper on "The Netherlands and Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", Professor J. W. Smit put his finger on the deeply felt and disquieting problem which beset many intelligent Netherlanders for most of that period: the ambiguity of the Dutch position as a first-rate commercial power without a corresponding territorial and demographical basis. "It was the problem of a nation seeking its security in peace, in a world which granted no profit without power, no safety without war." In this connexion, it is interesting to note how closely Rendorp's arguments for Dutch neutrality and a republican form of Government in 1792 coincide with those advanced by Pieter de la Court in 1662, despite all that had happened in the interval. Professor J. R. Jones's lively paper on "English Attitudes to Europe in the Seventeenth Century" is especially useful for its trenchant demonstration of parliamentary ignorance and irresponsibility in foreign affairs. "Members not only wanted, they actually thought they could have, an effective foreign policy on the cheap." The author might, perhaps, have added that this conviction was not confined to the seventeenth century: and he surely goes too far when he claims:

Foreign affairs were a matter for a tiny minority. Taking active royal servants, former diplomats and educated and well-informed merchants, the number cannot have been much more than a hundred.

On the contrary, judging from the relatively wide circulation of such popular pamphlets as *England's Appeal from the Cabal at Whitehall* (1673), and the successive editions of Sir William Temple's *Observations on the United Provinces* between 1673 and 1676, there must have been at least ten times that number. The regular subscribers to the *London Gazette*, who certainly numbered more than a hundred, must also have had some knowledge of foreign affairs since the bulk of this paper was devoted to foreign news.

Dr Meilink-Roelofsz and Dr. D. Bassett are both equally illuminating and fair-minded in their respective and perceptive discussions of Dutch and English colonial developments in seventeenth-century Asia. The former shows, among other things, played by the Dutch East-India Company in its prime was some 17,000 or 18,000, and not 30,000, which is the figure given by all contemporaries, including Sir William Temple. Dr. Bassett rightly emphasizes that the English East-India Company's trade with Indonesia after the so-called "massacre of Amboina" in 1623, was much larger and lasted for much longer than is generally recognized. The Indian and the Indonesian markets were complementary and not mutually exclusive. Mrs. Alice Carter, in her interesting discussion of Britain as a European power between 1688 and 1793, acutely analyses the various factors which eroded the Anglo-Dutch alliance, "turning it from what was admittedly a mere *mariage de convenance* into one on the road to divorce".

Professor J. C. Boogman contributes a masterly survey of "The Netherlands in the European scene, 1813-1913", showing how and why the apathy, flabbiness, and obsession with the past which characterized the Dutch upper classes between 1813 and 1848 was gradually succeeded by a more dynamic outlook in the second half of the century, culminating in an atmosphere of optimism and national self-confidence, not to say complacency, by 1914. Dr. J. S. Bastin in his consideration of "Britain as an imperial power in S.E. Asia in the 19th century" reminds us that theories of imperialism tend to obscure the influence of local factors and the activities, often the unauthorized activities, of individuals in frontier situations on the effective process of territorial expansion. Raffles, James and Charles Brooke, and Sir Andrew Clarke are cited as exemplars. The two concluding chapters on the respective Dutch and British retreats from empire deal with events which are too recent to allow of a definitive summing-up, as both authors explicitly recognize. But Professor Heindel Baudet's paper, in so far as it deals with British attitudes towards the Dutch over Indonesia in 1945-46, makes uncomfortable reading for those of us who were in East Asia in 1940-41, and who remember how staunchly they stood by us then.

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James and John

CURTIS B. PEPPER: *An Artist and The Pope.* 249pp. Peter Davies. £3 3s.

The reader may have a difficulty with *An Artist and the Pope.* It is written in the popular manner of an *historic romance* obscuring the ultimate facts of life and death, which are the real theme. Yet the theme penetrates even through this sensationalist medium. The book was put together with industry by Curtis Bill Pepper, who spent long hours with the sculptor Manzù before a tape recorder. Additional facts were provided by Mgr. Loris Capovilla, once Pope John's private secretary and now an archbishop. But what lies beneath these "imaginary conversations" is the rugged tragic tone of Giacomo Manzù himself, his life struggle to manipulate recalcitrant clay into his own verbally inarticulate "vision of the world", and finally the impact on him of the most unexpected of soul-mates, John XXIII. As we read between the lines (not always easily) we get yet another portrait of John: one more penetrating than that of the cleverest biographers—the man in the eyes of an intuitive artist.

Perhaps we had better sort out a few facts. Giacomo Manzù came from a depressed family in Bergamo where his father was a sacristan and church hanger-on. His obsession with life and death he could express through women but also through Christ. In the 1930s he had done his famous bas-reliefs such as "Christ with Poverty" and "Christ with Women", or, later, "Christ in our Humanity". And there was the much-contested Christ hanging from the cross by one hand while a fat nude whore (Mary Magdalen or some other woman) is kissing the other hand. Manzù's approach to Christianity has some remote affinity with that of another Italian communist, Pier-Paolo Pasolini, who astonished the world by his *Gospel according to Saint Matthew.* Christ was a brother, a sufferer, a partisan struggling for justice and love in a cold and loveless world.

The story of Manzù's relations with the Vatican began when, through the good offices of Don Giuseppe De Luca (a devoted and famous priest who made his mark on Rome), he was commissioned to design the Doors of Death, one of the entrances to St. Peter's. There were the struggles, usual between employers and working artists, whether the employers be churchmen or state officials. Manzù began the big work, then desisted, disgusted, because he could not accept Catholic theology about the death of Christ and Mary and was unable to do anything he felt dishonest.

It was at this point that he was invited to make a bust of John XXIII. John took Manzù aback, for he had never thought a Pope could have such sincere and humble ways—or be so tolerant. Two ways of sincerity met in affection, two lonely men with utterly different approaches were wrestling with the human condition. They could talk in Bergamesque dialect (Pope John, it will be remembered, came from near Bergamo) while Manzù struggled to get his impressions of John's moods—thoughtful, laughing, expressing certainty or doubt. John even showed him his bare bedroom. A meeting-point between art and holiness was reached which could never have been attained through theology or in concepts alone. John encouraged Manzù to continue his work on the Doors of Death and inspired him through the agonies of creation.

The Doors of Death were not in place until after John XXIII had died; and, instead of the panel indicating "Death in Water", Manzù inserted John XXIII in prayer. The figures representing the deaths of Abel, St. Joseph, St. Stephen, St. Gregory, death in space, and death on earth (where the woman is recognizably Manzù's Ingal all have their strange weightlessness. So have the deaths of Christ and of Mary. There is, of course, a theological ambiguity, for even in Christ and Mary Manzù has really portrayed all the sufferings and tortures of mankind in our present stage of evolution. This is not sacred art in Rouault's sense, but the Doors are a statement of great power and creativeness in which Manzù's belief in man merges with Pope John's belief in the Christ-God. There is no resolving the ambiguities of the great statement in conceptual terms.

We get a perception through this story, which is told like a film on television, that Manzù did not like Paul VI much more than he had liked Pius XII. In his eyes Paul seemed aloof at the inauguration of the Doors, as in earlier years Pius had seemed clerical and triumphalist. No one in Italy has captured the people's imagination and the artist's imagination as John XXIII did, and the Doors almost howl for John XXIII and Don Giuseppe De Luca, the dead patrons.

The man within

ELSIE ALTMANN LOOS: *Adolf Loos der Mensch.* 191pp. Wien: Herold. 124 Sch.

What is one to make of this biography of Loos? It is written by one of his wives. She was only married to him from 1919 to 1925, but she is clearly still in love with him. On the very last page she can still list:

His favourite food: chicken, tender vegetables, ice cream, lobster. His favourite drink: *Eiswasserspritzer.* His favourite flower: white lilac. His favourite book: Brehm's *Tierleben.*

And so on. Frau Loos also tells us—more or less fairly, it seems—of the other wives. To his first wife he stuck for only two years, the last he married in 1927 or 1928. The second, Bessie Bruce, has a chapter, a remarkably sympathetic one, all to herself. It was through Bessie and Loos that Kokoschka got the commission to paint Auguste Forel, the psychiatrist, perhaps the most masterly of all his portraits. That story we are not told, though Frau Loos mentions Kokoschka several times, as Loos was apparently more attached to him than to any other friend, except perhaps Peter Altenberg. Loos's pupils are also mentioned but no attempt is made to characterize them or to characterize such acquaintances as Le Corbusier, Count Condenhove Kalergi or Alma Mahler.

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Even a man of genius is a man, like people don't recognize that. He suffers from many adversities like ordinary mortals: love, sickness, cold feet, money trouble and insomnia. Just like other people. Look at him therefore with understanding eye. The envelope of the greatest mind is flesh and blood. A man like you and me.

Old and new

ALLEN S. WELLER: *The Joys and Sorrows of Recent American Art.* 185pp. University of Illinois Press. (American University Publishers Group.) £3 15s. 6d.

The Joys and Sorrows of Recent American Art represents the published text of the De Young Lectures in Higher Education given by Mr. Weller at Illinois State University in 1966. In the first Mr. Weller, who is ready to account for and examine (though without approving) any of the "highly personal forms of expression" that constitute the mysterious and unclear language of art in America today, passes in review the work of many American artists of middle age and picks out certain themes, attitudes and techniques for which he attempts to provide a symbolical interpretation in relation to specific developments and currents of thought in our time.

"The artist is, in effect, a prophet and one who reveals much about us all", Mr. Weller writes. And it is in this spirit that he deals in turn with the artists' preoccupation with the machine and its relation to man; with images of violence, and the emphasis artists place on such subjects as death, decay and disintegration; with the way many artists tend to suggest a human presence by incorporating human tracks or human detritus and articles of clothing in their canvases, and with the frequent use of masks, with images signifying loneliness and loss of identity; with the obsessive interest of many artists in "what happens inside, beneath the surface" rather than in "what reveals itself upon the exterior"; with the compulsion artists feel to invent weird and doubtfully functional organisms; and with the fatal confusion prevailing in the minds of artists and the public alike which allows them to equate "incompetence and crudity with freshness and directness".

In his second lecture Mr. Weller takes a longer and more approving look at the work of twelve "contemporary old-masters", all well over sixty, who he believes will continue to seem important to future generations of Americans, and whose works, he tells us, have greatly affected the outlook of the young American artists of today, even though they seem to be doing something entirely different. Mr. Weller states quite frankly that the artists he has selected for this accolade represent no more than a personal choice, but it is of interest to note that the list consists of Hofmann, Hopper, O'Keefe, Albers, Tobey, Burchfield, Davis, Rattner, Ivan Albright, Calder, Samuel Adler and Shahn. Lastly Mr. Weller tackles, as best he can, a certain number of the conflicting currents in American art of the moment, showing how each group tends to approach reality in terms of either "rejection" or "renewal". It is a pity, however, that Mr. Weller has paid no heed to the Californian school of painters and has chosen instead to focus on several dreary academics or funsters such as Martsol, Broderson, Perlstein and Saul, rather than serious artists like Diebenkorn or Levine. The volume contains ninety-two black-and-white plates, three of which also reappear in colour.

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Britain: Rome's Most Northerly Province
G. M. Durant
The author of *Journey Into Roman Britain* and other books on the period introduces the interested layman to the four centuries during which Rome ruled Britain, asking all the likely questions and trying, in her answers, to make use of the most reliable evidence. *Yorkshire Post:* 'A welcome and successful effort to bring to life the four centuries of Roman occupation.' *Photographs, maps. 30s. net*

Bell

On the beginning

[illegible] CRAUGHT WRIGHT (Editor): *China in Revolution: The First Five 1900-1913.* 505pp. Yale University Press. £6 15s.

[illegible]ution, like love, is a word with [illegible]e a range of meaning as to be [illegible]ost useless except in a context. [illegible]ne end of the scale there is the [illegible]; often painful process that [illegible]ches and changes a whole society, [illegible]ning or even dominating the life [illegible]consciousness of all its members. [illegible]e other end is the military-[illegible]cal coup that changes the faces [illegible]e top and little else, while spouting [illegible]ne phrases. The overthrow of [illegible] Manchu dynasty was closer to [illegible] latter type; and one reason why [illegible]ll new Western studies of early [illegible]ntieth-century Chinese history [illegible] failed to give a strong impression [illegible] of the period is that they have [illegible]ded to focus on this event of [illegible]ated importance instead of on [illegible]ader trends. Even its supposed [illegible]der, the improbable and peripatetic Dr. Sun Yat-sen, with his [illegible]per suits and moustaches and [illegible] decades of émigré conspiring, [illegible]d a key to the period in the way [illegible] Tse-tung is to the China of the [illegible]st four decades.

China in Revolution changes all [illegible]s in a welcome and long overdue [illegible]. This collection of essays on various aspects of the development of [illegible]inese politics and society in the [illegible] thirteen years or so of the century is of course uneven, but the [illegible]troduction by Mary Wright, and [illegible]me of the other pieces, are worth [illegible]ome thought and discussion. It [illegible]re is a common theme running [illegible]ough the book it is the growth of [illegible]odern nationalism alongside the [illegible]development of the provincial alliances between gentry and merchants [illegible]d later to provide the political [illegible]ase for warlordism. Thus the collapse of the imperial state in 1911 [illegible]an be more realistically seen as a [illegible]ajor landmark in a bewildering landscape of change rather than as a huge dominating event. Indeed, the main interest of 1911 and 1912 is in the way social forces to whom the overthrow or continuation of Manchu imperial rule was of secondary interest took advantage of chaos to further their own interests.

As the essays dealing with provincialism show, it was not Sun Yat-sen's muddled ideas and bungled planning that toppled the Ch'ing dynasty but the assertion by the gentry of control of their own provinces. After 1900 and the breakdown of the last effective pretensions of the court to represent gentry interests on a national basis when dealing with foreigners, strong central government became less useful, and the pressure for provincial autonomy to some extent or other grew rapidly. The constitutional movement of the last years of the Ch'ing was essentially a declaration by the landed classes and their merchant friends that they now preferred to look after their own interests directly. It was these classes, not the revolutionary conspirators, who won out in the power struggles before and after 1911.

It is perhaps a sign of the immaturity of the study of Chinese history in the West at least, that such questions as the role of the gentry and bourgeoisie in the twentieth century should only now be coming into the area of serious academic controversy. In this volume, for example, Professor Wright and others present the gentry as a modernizing and patriotic force because they "read newspapers and wrote letters to the editor", produced radical students and officers in the new armies, and invested in bourgeois-style enterprises. Ichiko Chūzō is rather more plausible in his admirably concise presentation of the case that the gentry succeeded in turning the crisis of 1911 into something like the traditional fall of a decayed dynasty; with conservative landed power taking control locally. Yet Ichiko, too, sees the gentry as the agents of modernization of a sort.

It has long been the contention of most communist historians that 1911 was a bourgeois revolution that failed because of the weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie. Mme. Bergère illuminates the formation and role of a westernized entrepreneurial class around the turn of the century and in the events of 1911-13, questioning the usefulness of the conventional distinction between "compradore" and "national" bourgeoisie. Her essay may not be the last word on the subject, but it gives an excellent basis for further discussion.

Another useful approach to the period is through looking at developments in various provinces. The memoir of Wu Yü-chang translated some years ago gave a good impression of the style and atmosphere of Szechuan politics at the time that can be usefully compared with Dr. Mary Rankin's illuminating study of the relations between traditional and modern rebels in Chekiang.

Other contributors deal with the creation of the new armies, the confused events at Wuhan of October, 1911, the popularity of anarchism among Chinese students in Japan, and the contrasting careers of Yuan Shih-k'ai and Sun Yat-sen. In his piece on the latter Harold Schiffrin achieves the rare distinction of making some sense of that puzzling figure. Professor Wright's isolation of nationalism as a main characteristic of the period may be carried too far, but it will certainly make it impossible to neglect it any longer.

This collection of essays includes enough stimulating ideas and good scholarship to deserve to be called outstanding, despite its unevenness. Its main shortcoming is the absence of a study of the agrarian problems that are as basic to this as to any other period of Chinese history; but such a complaint could reasonably be regarded as greedy.

From both shores

I.S. BROMLEY and E. H. KOSSMANN (Editors): *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia.* 264pp. Macmillan. £3 3s.

There is a tendency nowadays for the organizers of international historical conferences—functions which seem to be proliferating like mushrooms—to rush into print with a volume (or volumes) of the papers presented, whose quality does not always justify a wider circulation. The reproach cannot fairly be levelled against the publications of the proceedings of the periodic Anglo-Dutch Historical Conferences, which have been held at discreet intervals alternately on either side of the North Sea since the inaugural one at Oxford in 1959. Unlike some of the unwieldy jamborees with hundreds or even thousands of participants, these modest Anglo-Dutch conferences have been deliberately kept small, with only ten or so niche formal papers, and the participants not more than thirty a side.

Dutch expertise in foreign languages, and not least in English, has enabled the proceedings to be conducted entirely in this language without any strain; and the care taken in their preparation has ensured contributions of high quality. In this reviewer's opinion the present volume is the best of the series, since the third conference (held at London in 1967) had two specific themes—which give it a greater unity than was achieved by the two previous volumes. The first theme was that of the changing attitudes in Britain and the Netherlands to the respective situations of the two countries in the highly unstable power complex which remains such a prominent feature of modern European history. The other a comparative study of aspects of Dutch and British colonial history in Asia, and of their respective retreats from empire.

In a stimulating opening paper on "The Netherlands and Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", Professor J. W. Smit put his finger on the deeply felt and disquieting sense of frustration that many intelligent Netherlanders (for most of that period) the ambiguity of the Dutch position as a first-rate commercial power without a corresponding territorial and demographical basis. "It was the problem of a nation seeking its security in peace, in a world which granted no profit without power, no safety without war." In this connexion, it is interesting to note how closely Rendorp's arguments for Dutch neutrality and a republican form of government in 1792 coincide with those advanced by Pieter de la Court in 1662, despite all that had happened in the interval. Professor J. R. Jones's lively paper on "English Attitudes to Europe in the Seventeenth Century" is especially useful for its trenchant demonstration of parliamentary ignorance and irresponsibility in foreign affairs. "Members not only wanted, they actually thought they could have, an effective foreign policy on the cheap." The author might, perhaps, have added that this conviction was not confined to the seventeenth century: and he surely goes too far when he claims:

Foreign affairs were a matter for a tiny minority. Taking active royal servants, former diplomats and educated and well-informed merchants, the number cannot have been much more than a hundred.

On the contrary, judging from the relatively wide circulation of such popular pamphlets as *England's Appeal from the Cabal at Whitehall* (1673), and the successive editions of Sir William Temple's *Observations on the United Provinces* between 1673 and 1676, there must have been at least ten times that number. The regular subscribers to the *London Gazette*, who certainly numbered more than a hundred, must also have had some knowledge of foreign affairs since the bulk of this paper was devoted to foreign news.

Dr. Meilink-Roelofsz and Dr. D. Bussett are both equally illuminating and fair-minded in their respective and perceptive discussions of Dutch and English colonial developments in seventeenth-century Asia. The former shows, among other things, how the Dutch East-India Company in its prime was some 17,000 or 18,000, and not 30,000, which is the figure given by all contemporaries, including Sir William Temple. Dr. Bussett rightly emphasizes that the English East-India Company's trade with Indonesia after the so-called "massacre of Amboina" in 1623, was much larger and lasted for much longer than is generally recognized. The Indian and the Indonesian markets were complementary and not mutually exclusive. Mrs. Alice Carter, in her interesting discussion of Britain as a European power between 1688 and 1793, acutely analyses the various factors which eroded the Anglo-Dutch alliance. "turning it from what was admittedly a mere *mariage de convenance* into one on the road to divorce".

Professor J. C. Boogman contributes a masterly survey of "The Netherlands in the European scene, 1813-1913", showing how and why the apathy, flabbiness, and obsession with the past which characterized the Dutch upper classes between 1813 and 1848 was gradually succeeded by a more dynamic outlook in the second half of the century, culminating in an atmosphere of optimism and national self-confidence, not to say complacency, by 1914. Dr. J. S. Bastin in his consideration of "Britain as an imperial power in S.E. Asia in the 19th century" reminds us that theories of imperialism tend to obscure the influence of local factors and the activities, often the unauthorized activities, of individuals in frontier situations on the effective process of territorial expansion. Raffles, James and Charles Brooke, and Sir Andrew Clarke are cited as exemplars. The two concluding chapters on the respective Dutch and British retreats from empire deal with events which are too recent to allow of a definitive summing-up, as both authors explicitly recognize. But Professor Henri Baudet's paper, in so far as it deals with British attitudes towards the Dutch over Indonesia in 1945-46, makes uncomfortable reading for those of us who were in East Asia in 1940-41, and who remember how staunchly they stood by us then-

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MICHAEL JOSEPH

And yet it does not move

GEORGES GUSDORF: *La Révolution galiléenne*. Vol. 1. 404pp. Vol. 2. 486pp. Paris: Payot. 37.10fr. each.

The thesis of *La Révolution galiléenne* is that, if the modern approach to the universe can be said to be the work of any single person, that person is Galileo. He made his precursors' attitude of mind explicit, and he set the mental framework within which his successors have worked down to the present day. Professor Gusdorf's book gives an account of Galileo's career, accompanied by a massive survey of the intellectual history of the western world in Galileo's lifetime and during the next generation. Thus the book has two subjects, and perhaps it falls between two stools. A reader who wants a handbook may be put off by the thesis, while a reader who is interested primarily in the thesis may find the handbook superfluous. Nor is the book easy to read; it lacks the lucidity and orderliness of which French scholars are, as a rule, past-masters.

Fortunately the subject comes to the author's rescue. It is of such perennial interest that any serious treatment of it is welcome—and Professor Gusdorf's work is serious almost to the point of prosiness. "Galileo's revolution" is topical today because it has become evident that this revolutionary change of mental outlook in western Christendom, three or four centuries ago, is one of the major causes of the crisis in which the modern world finds itself.

The story is an ironical one. The revolution of which Galileo was indisputably one of the principal authors has by now placed in mankind's hands a previously undreamed of plenitude of material power, but our enhanced material power has become a menace to us, because this mental revolution has done nothing at all to increase our spiritual capacity for handling material power; so far from that, it has had a spiritually unsettling effect that has been progressive. The story also illustrates the ironical saying that, *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

At first sight it looks as if no break with the past could have been more radical. Galileo's revolution "demythologized" man's mental picture of the universe. Yet the post-Galilean Weltanschauung is a reproduction of the pre-Galilean one on the essential point. Each of these views of the universe is founded on an unverifiable act of faith. Pre-Galilean man put his faith in the presence, behind the phenomena, of an invisible God; post-Galilean man has transferred his faith to a belief in the presence, behind the same phenomena, of a mathematical structure of reality. The piquant point of similarity between the two outlooks is that both impugn the reality of the tangible, visible, audible world that is registered by our human senses. Both maintain that the reality by bears no resemblance to the appearances.

Both outlooks have been justified only by results. The mythical picture of the universe enabled man to behave as a social animal for many centuries—perhaps ever since the time when our ancestors became human. When the traditional mythology lost its social justification, it forfeited its authority. In the western Christendom of the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century, Christianity was discredited by the wars of religion and by the accompanying hatreds and atrocities. Even so, the new outlook had a hard struggle to vindicate itself. The trial and condemnation of Galileo is one of the testimonies to the stubbornness of the old outlook's rearguard action and to the slowness of its sullen retreat. The traditional religious "establishment" might conceivably have held its ground if it had not disgraced itself by its misdeeds. The corresponding misdeeds of the new scientific dispensation have been committed within our lifetime: two world wars, accompanied by genocide and culminating in the dropping of the two atom bombs. Is modern science now going to be discredited in its turn? This too is conceivable; for science's credentials are, not that science is self-evident, but that science works, as mythology worked in its pre-scientific day, for the benefit of mankind. If mankind were to come to the conclusion that science is working for mankind's destruction, would science be able to maintain the quasi-religious ascendancy over human minds and hearts that it has enjoyed since the Galilean revolution came into its own?

Yet science does work. We now have atomic fission and fusion; and we have a host of other achievements of science, bad and good. But efficaciousness is no guarantee of truth. All that we know is that the mathematical picture of the universe has produced stupendous practical results. As for the mathematical picture's correspondence or non-correspondence with reality, we can see that this picture has been made to stand for reality by a process-lean procedure. The title to counting as being real has been withdrawn by science from all phenomena that cannot be forced into a mathematical straitjacket—cannot, that is to say, be processed into stuff that can be counted, measured, and weighed. This process rules out most of the data of human experience. Science has won its progressive triumphs in a progressively dwindling realm.

In our time, science's procedure has been doubly challenged. The scientists themselves have discovered that the human scientific observer is part of the phenomena that he is observing; and people in general have discovered that, contrary to what has been the ruling dogma since Galileo's day, science and technology are of only secondary importance for mankind. Man has demonstrated this by managing to survive on a minimum of technology, his lower palaeolithic outfit, for the first million years of his history. What is all-important for man is morals; for man is either a social creature or a nonentity. Indeed, if, with science's edged tools now in his hands, he continues to fail to behave socially, he will be condemning himself to self-liquidation.

Professor Gusdorf's book is a quarry from which the reader can extract seventeenth-century information about this twentieth-century question; but the reader will have to dig for his ore.

Rags and bones

KARL E. ROTHSCHUH: *Physiologie, der Wandel ihrer Konzepte, Probleme, und Methode vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. 407pp. Freiburg: Karl Alber. DM 58.

"Physiology", wrote Schopenhauer in 1852, now quoted on the title-page of Professor Rothschuh's *Physiologie*, "is the summit of Natural Science and its most obscure part." François Magendie, his contemporary and a great French physiologist, refused to go to either extreme of this ambivalent view. "I see myself as a rag and bone man", he wrote. "Hook in hand and basket over my shoulder, I scour the field of science to gather what I can." By and large, the history of physiology fits best with Magendie's autobiographical remarks, although in the two preceding centuries there had been plenty of the obscurity of which Schopenhauer spoke. Professor Rothschuh eliminates or illuminates it as best he can by writing his book around carefully selected quotations, each of a page or so in length.

From the neo-Galenic Aristotelian, and Platonic sources of physiology in the fifteenth century and before, from its associations with alchemy and magic in the next, to anatomy, iatro-physics and iatro-chemistry in the seventeenth, we can easily see in reading *Physiologie* how difficult must have been the task of separating the rags from the bones. Even in the eighteenth century, when the mechanists might have been thought enlightened enough not to see the opposite point of view, we find that men like Hales, Hoffmann, and Boerhaave tended to have ideas not wholly repugnant to the vitalists. It is for this sort of reason that one or two long quotations can never really do justice to any given author. By such means, admittedly, the historian in a hurry is provided with the inimitable flavour of original work; but since the original was not written by a historian, the result is a history only to the extent that the linking passages are history.

In fact, although they vary considerably in character, most of Professor Rothschuh's own contributions make us wish that he had written a book less like a card-index. He might then have found space to mention, for instance, Legallois, d'Arcet, Bert, Nobili, Vella, Tarshanov, Lenhossék, Sharpey, and Sir Charles Bell (whose law relating to the cranial nerve roots, incidentally, appears to have been mentioned). The fact not to suggest that Professor Rothschuh has failed to strike a reasonable balance between the work of the various schools, and if anything has played down the great contributions to physiological chemistry made by his countrymen Liebig and Mayer. (Moritz Schiff's study of the thyroid function might also be added to the list of subjects which pass without mention.) It is simply that 400 pages are not enough to cover the ground the author has set himself to cover, on a "source-book" principle. Probably the most unfortunate omissions concern the evolution of ancillary techniques. There are many who will look in vain for an assessment of the slow but steady improvement in the resolving power and numerical aperture of microscopes during the last century, although some slight indication is given of the way in which this materially affected physiology.

Physiologie is nevertheless a valuable book. Despite a number of trivial errors, its bibliography is thorough, and in the end most readers will probably look upon the work as a guide to the tangle of physiological literature during the four relevant centuries. (The "19. 20. Jahrhundert" in the title on the jacket is a mistake.) It is nothing if not organized, and although it is indifferently illustrated, there are historical tables and diagrams to assist those who are strangers to the meeting of so many scientific ways. It is its "cross-roads" character which makes physiology historically so interesting, and it is this very aspect of the subject which Professor Rothschuh brings out most clearly.

Engineer on engineers

WILLIAM BARCLAY PARSONS: *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*. 661pp. The M.I.T. Press. £5 17s.

General William Barclay Parsons, in common with many writers on engineering history and as his title confirms, was not, either by training or profession, a historian. Born in 1859 and educated in Europe and the United States, Parsons was an extremely successful and eminent civil engineer who was much involved with the construction of transportation systems, especially railroads, both in North America and elsewhere. He pioneered the building of New York's first subway (the engineering achievement for which he is best known), was a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, reported on traffic problems in numerous cities (including London), and at various times was engaged on tunnelling projects. It was as a result of his military engineering activities in the First World War that Parsons was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.

Quite when Parsons's passion for the history of engineering began to develop is not clear. His interest in the Maya ruins of Yucatan dates from the early 1900s, and in 1922 he published a book on *Robert Fulton and the Submarine*. But it was the Renaissance period which stimulated Parsons's most important historical work. In *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance* his considerable knowledge of engineering and his interest in history combined to produce a brilliant work.

Parsons's research into Renaissance engineering lasted many years and was based on a careful study of all the printed material which was then available, together with many manuscripts. Apparently much of the manuscript material was examined by Parsons for the first time and in many cases he seems to be the only person to have done so even today. The book is in many ways what one would expect from a man trained as an engineer. Plans and projects are carefully analysed and described, from an engineer's point of view, from their inception to completion, or, in several cases, abandonment.

Indeed one of the most valuable aspects of the book is Parsons's attention to schemes that were never finished, or were finished at a much later date, an approach which helps to illustrate just what engineers were up against at the time and the reasons why they were often unable to proceed. For the historian of engineering this is often more informative than a study of "successes".

Parsons was one of the first writers to emphasize that Leonardo da Vinci was more of an engineer than an artist, sculptor or anatomist. And yet he overestimates Leonardo's importance. For all his inventive genius and superb ability as a draughtsman, Leonardo did little practical engineering and exerted a minor influence on later developments.

Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance is not a book in which the wider issues of Renaissance history are discussed; any assessment of the position of engineering in relation to economic and social history must be sought elsewhere. At the same time, though, Parsons was more than a chronicler of technical events and never fails to set Renaissance engineering projects against the full background of the people involved and the problems they were trying to solve. As often as not his sources were contemporary ones and one gains thereby a fascinating insight into engineering at it really was and not, as is too often the case, what hindsight suggests it might have been, or, worse still, what it *should* have been. Part Five of the book, on hydraulic engineering in Italy and France, is especially good in this respect, and the reader could almost be reading a "Renaissance engineering journal" so immediate are the accounts of Milan's canal system, the flooding and drainage problems in the Arno, and the creation of France's inland waterways culminating in the magnificent Canal du Languedoc.

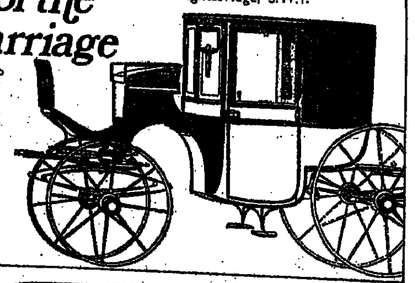
In recent years interest in Renaissance engineering has experienced a revival. The discovery in Madrid of the manuscript of Juanelo Turriano and two new Leonardo da Vinci manuscripts have been key events in this, while Bertrand Gille's book, *The Renaissance Engineers*, has approached the subject in a fresh and critical way. These and other studies are giving new information about the subject and in places Parsons's views are in conflict with modern ones. As yet nothing has come along to replace his book in any way; it continues to stand as *the* work on Renaissance engineers and engineering. Nowhere else can the student of the Renaissance period find such a readable and complete account based on such a wealth of original research. Anyone trying to improve on it is faced with a formidable task, and in any case would have to make Parsons the starting point.

Paradoxically not many copies of the original edition were printed in 1939, seven years after the author's untimely death. Consequently, although the book's importance became well known to engineering historians, copies were not all that easy of access. The M.I.T. Press is to be congratulated for remedying this situation. Their version is not so large as the original nor the format quite so large. But it is complete, with all the illustrations, bibliography, appendices (the one on Renaissance standards of measure is of immense value), and index. Even the original pagination is retained to facilitate the checking of references made by authors who used the 1939 version. It is to be hoped that this new edition will go a long way to making Parsons's work as widely read and used as it deserves to be. It is altogether a magnificent book.

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E. STACK (Editor): *The Love-Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett*. 230pp. Heinemann. £2 2s.

[illegible] your verses with all my heart, [illegible] Miss Barrett. . . . I do, as I say, [illegible]-love books with all my heart—I [illegible] love you too." The resounding [illegible] duet of Browning's opening [illegible] nerve roots, incidentally, appears [illegible] to have been mentioned). The [illegible] not to suggest that Professor Rothschuh has failed to strike a reasonable balance between the work of the various schools, and if anything has played down the great contributions to physiological chemistry made by his countrymen Liebig and Mayer. (Moritz Schiff's study of the thyroid function might also be added to the list of subjects which pass without mention.) It is simply that 400 pages are not enough to cover the ground the author has set himself to cover, on a "source-book" principle. Probably the most unfortunate omissions concern the evolution of ancillary techniques. There are many who will look in vain for an assessment of the slow but steady improvement in the resolving power and numerical aperture of microscopes during the last century, although some slight indication is given of the way in which this materially affected physiology.

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A.E.H.

CHRISTOPHER RICKS (Editor): *A. E. Housman*. 182pp. Prentice-Hall. £1.

Profession Ricks notes in his introduction to this very interesting collection that "the poems of A. E. Housman disrupt all the usual allegiances"; disapproved by George Meredith, Edith Sitwell, F. R. Leavis, Cyril Connolly; respected by W. B. Yeats, T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden; admired by G. K. Chesterton, Robert Graves, William Empson, Randall Jarrell, and John Sparrow. The general notion that Housman's poetry appeals to us in youth but succumbs to sophisticated maturity is branded a fallacy: "the audience that needs to be captured for Housman", Professor Ricks maintains, "is precisely the one of which he is supposed to be already in possession: he *does* already enjoy the esteem of those so-called 'New Critics' who are supposed to be the enemies of his kind of poetry". And one of his objectives in the present collection is "to disentangle Housman from the jealous embrace of a certain kind of admirer . . . with friends like Garrod, Housman's poems don't need enemies".

Housman specialists may be presumed to be familiar with most of the critiques here reprinted, but even for them it will be a convenience to have this discerning selection between one pair of (albeit paper) covers, and for others than specialists it offers an illuminating survey of recent and current views. The essays deal not only with Housman the poet but also with Housman the writer on poetry and Housman the man. The critics are, among others, Edmund Wilson, John Wain, Cyril Connolly, W. H. Auden, F. W. Bateson, J. P. Sullivan, John Sparrow and Professor Ricks himself; and there are poems by Ezra Pound, Kingsley Amis, and W. H. Auden, the last of which requires the backward transfer of the comma in line three.

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The first R

CARLO M. CIPOLLA: *Literacy and Development in the West*. 143pp. Penguin. 4s.

Literacy is taken very much for granted in the West, and questions concerning its origins and development are rarely asked. Many histories of education avoid any mention of why reading has been regarded as important, and how it has been regarded through the ages; still less have such books been concerned with how people have learnt to read, or what effect, in psychic or perceptual terms, reading has had upon individual men and women or society at large.

Professor Cipolla's book is concerned primarily with how literacy has come about, and very much less with its effects. He provides a number of interesting concepts and a good deal of data, most of which is presented in thirty tables. The definition of literacy is far from easy. Reading? Writing? Both? Criteria by which ability is judged? These are complex issues, and the author comes to terms with them in the opening pages:

> Speculation about the possible inadequacies of any definition of illiteracy in a historical perspective could go on for ever. For practical purposes and for practical purposes only in this book the term "illiterate" is used in the humblest sense of merely connoting a person unable to read a text whether written or printed.

A literate person, then, within the definition of this book, is one who can read a written or printed text. Excellent as far as it goes; and this provides the starting point of a work that is both succinct and supported by a wealth of references in several European languages.

There are, however, two points at which it is necessary to take issue with Professor Cipolla. The more important one is the fact that for much of his argument he relies upon the highly dubious evidence for proficiency in reading offered by the ability to sign one's name. The second is his uncritical acceptance of Lawrence Stone's theory that there was a decline in literacy in England for the hundred years or so following the middle of the seventeenth century.

Ability to sign one's name—to what extent does this provide evidence that the signatory can read, at even the lowest level? This question is not asked by Professor Cipolla, who assumes that the extent of literacy can be assessed by the counting of signatures. This procedure, in spite of the claims made for it in this country, is open to grave criticism, since it is based upon the concept of an intimate connexion between reading and writing which advocates of popular education in eighteenth-century England did not take for granted. By relying upon this method of investigating literacy, and ignoring other avenues of approach, this book—for all its clarity—is less convincing than it might have been.

Regarding Professor Stone's argument about the decline in literacy there is much that might be said. He has by no means proved his case, though he states it cogently; and it is disquieting to find Professor Cipolla relying uncritically upon findings which have not been established beyond doubt.

Within the present climate of historical research, evidence which can be readily quantified and presented in the form of statistical tables has become extremely popular. Professor Cipolla is clearly drawn to this method, and exploits it with considerable skill. It is this fact which makes his book essentially disappointing, notwithstanding its "pioneer" quality; and in moving to a new frontier of knowledge one is oppressed with a sense of déjà vu—bleak figures which tell us nothing about the impact of the printed word upon the mind and spirit of Western man. Clearly statistics have an important role to play, but as Professor Gombrich has recently pointed out, "it will be a sad day when we allow the techniques we have learned . . . to dictate the questions which can be asked in our universities". One is left with the impression that this historical study of literacy has almost come to this.

A.E.H.

CHRISTOPHER RICKS (Editor): *A. E. Housman*. 182pp. Prentice-Hall. £1.

Profession Ricks notes in his introduction to this very interesting collection that "the poems of A. E. Housman disrupt all the usual allegiances"; disapproved by George Meredith, Edith Sitwell, F. R. Leavis, Cyril Connolly; respected by W. B. Yeats, T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden; admired by G. K. Chesterton, Robert Graves, William Empson, Randall Jarrell, and John Sparrow. The general notion that Housman's poetry appeals to us in youth but succumbs to sophisticated maturity is branded a fallacy: "the audience that needs to be captured for Housman", Professor Ricks maintains, "is precisely the one of which he is supposed to be already in possession: he *does* already enjoy the esteem of those so-called 'New Critics' who are supposed to be the enemies of his kind of poetry". And one of his objectives in the present collection is "to disentangle Housman from the jealous embrace of a certain kind of admirer . . . with friends like Garrod, Housman's poems don't need enemies".

Housman specialists may be presumed to be familiar with most of the critiques here reprinted, but even for them it will be a convenience to have this discerning selection between one pair of (albeit paper) covers, and for others than specialists it offers an illuminating survey of recent and current views. The essays deal not only with Housman the poet but also with Housman the writer on poetry and Housman the man. The critics are, among others, Edmund Wilson, John Wain, Cyril Connolly, W. H. Auden, F. W. Bateson, J. P. Sullivan, John Sparrow and Professor Ricks himself; and there are poems by Ezra Pound, Kingsley Amis, and W. H. Auden, the last of which requires the backward transfer of the comma in line three.

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Aspects of E. M. Forster
Edited by OLIVER STALLYBRASS 42s. net
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Edward Arnold
41 Maddox Street, London, W.1.

Two hundred days and seven nights

HARRY SCHWARTZ: *Prague's 200 Days*. 274pp. Pall Mall Press. £2 10s.

LADISLAV MNÁČKO: *The Seventh Night*. 220pp. Dent. 30s.

The events in Czechoslovakia last year were interesting enough, and perhaps even important enough, to justify a spate of books about them. For eight months there was the unique spectacle of a state beginning to demolish its totalitarian apparatus of government, and, what is more, doing so without the pressure of violence, revolution or war. Then for seven days after the night of August 20-21, 1968, there was the very widespread, though totally unplanned, resistance to the Russian invasion. Now that these phases have been definitely replaced by a policy of appeasement and concessions, it is a suitable if somewhat depressing moment to take stock.

Two journalists—Ladislav Mňačko and Harry Schwartz have recently added their contributions to the literature on these events. Mr. Mňačko is the celebrated Slovak writer who during the era of Novotny's rule in Czechoslovakia wrote many outspoken articles, and came close to proving that the pen is mightier than the sword. In 1967 he caused a furore in his country by departing for Israel in protest against the Czechoslovak government's pro-Arab policy, and after the 1968 invasion he again emigrated from Czechoslovakia. Mr. Schwartz, by contrast, is an outsider whose journeys were into Czechoslovakia, not out of it. An American, he is the specialist on communist affairs of the *New York Times*, a job which puts him in a good position to combine reportage with analysis. Not surprisingly, Mr. Schwartz has managed to present a much more objective and much fuller account than the more impulsive Mr Mňačko. Equally unsurprisingly, Mr. Schwartz's generally excellent narrative occasionally betrays a lack of intimate contact with Czechoslovak events.

Mr. Schwartz's 200 days lie between Dubček's election as First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on January 5, 1968, and the Warsaw Pact invasion on August 20-21. Obviously a few days have got lopped off to make the figure suitably round, but the story of the events themselves is told fully, with all its twists, turns and dark corners. Mr. Schwartz relies principally on already available public sources, of which he makes very good use, and he writes in a lucid and easily comprehensible style.

Mr. Schwartz's narrative gives new information about two important aspects of the "200 days". The first is Dubček's curious dilatoriness during his first few weeks in office. The second is the development of the crisis with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact powers. Mr. Schwartz suggests that serious differences with the Soviet leaders emerged before the end of January, 1968, and he accuses Dubček of concealing the gravity of the situation from his colleagues and from the country. In general the discussion of Dubček's personality and style of government is well informed and sensitive. However, he does not deal as fully as he might with the question of the manner of Dubček's involvement in the "Dubček revolution". Nowadays in Prague a lot of people are asking themselves whether Dubček wrote his own speeches, and the prevalent feeling is certainly that his role was more that of chairman than of proposer. The evidence which Mr. Schwartz does present on such questions tends to confirm this impression.

Mr. Schwartz also presents an excellent brief account of the pre-1968 beginnings of the Czechoslovak reform movement. It is heartening to see that he is one of the few foreign observers to give full credit to the Slovaks (including, of course, Mr. Mňačko), who from the early 1960s were moving much faster than most Czechs towards a new kind of role for the party, a new style of journalism, and a new conception of socialism. Mr. Schwartz touches briefly on the question of Czechoslovak foreign policy as a cause of dissatisfaction before 1968, and he rightly comments on the general disillusion with the policy of endless supplies of arms to the United Arab Republic and North Vietnam. It is a pity that he does not say more about this, but since hard figures seem to be impossible to get one can hardly blame him. Czechoslovak "foreign aid" is a scandal in itself, which has yet to be fully exposed, and which, oddly enough, was not discussed in any detail in the Prague Spring of 1968. (This is one of the many respects in which the Czechoslovak journalists, who are now being accused of recklessness and irresponsibility, in fact displayed a remarkable degree of restraint.)

Occasionally Mr. Schwartz falls victim to the common human vice of deducing too much from too little evidence: and this is particularly true of his treatment of the Czechoslovak resistance to the invasion. The chronology of the events of the invasion itself is rather confused. More serious, perhaps, is his statement that the Czechoslovak Government had made some advance preparations for civilian resistance to the invasion. Although he makes this assertion twice, he offers no evidence for it, and in fact all available information points in exactly the opposite direction. Not only were no preparations made, but even when the resistance occurred spontaneously it did not get open support from the country's main leaders. (Some of them were of course quickly arrested and unable to follow events closely; but the very fact and manner of their arrest indicates a lack of preparedness for, and leadership of, resistance.)

Mr. Schwartz finished his book many months ago, long before Dubček's departure from the First Secretaryship of the Party in April. Some of his comments, however, foreshadowed events in 1969 with remarkable accuracy. After the ice-hockey incidents throughout the country at the end of March, which led to new Russian pressure, his remarks about Czechoslovak sport are tragically apt:

> In Czechoslovakia, sports are a national mania. When this originally harmless madness suddenly becomes entangled with sensitive matters, powerful psychological and political effects can result. So it was on February 15, 1968, when the Olympic hockey teams of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union met in Grenoble, France.

The reader might regretfully add: "And so it was again on March 28, 1969, when the hockey teams of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union met in Stockholm, Sweden."

Mr. Mňačko's seventh night was the last night he spent in his country. The following morning, August 21, 1968, he took a taxi from Bratislava to the Austrian border. Each chapter of his book consists half of a rather impressionistic diary of the first days of the invasion, and half of reminiscence about the previous thirty years in Czechoslovakia. For the general reader the book is certainly not a failure, and for the student of Czechoslovak affairs there is a good deal of interesting information, especially about the workings of the system under Novotny. The book as a whole, however, suffers from the author's extremely arrogant and egotistical style. Autobiographies seldom have the advertisement on so gigantic a scale as this chronicle. Even on page 200, by which time one might be expected to have got the message, he can say on regardless:

> I was there. At crucial moments of our history my pen helped to move things forward, even very early. . . . It is impossible to think of Czechoslovak developments without the influence of the paper *Kulturný Život*, which for years was the focal point of the intellectual revolt against the dictatorship. I was editor in chief only for short periods, but always at crucial moments. . . . Then my "flight into fame" marked the beginning of the end of Novotny's regime.

If one accused Mňačko of being smug, he would no doubt reply that he has something to be smug about. This is probably true, but it is not an appealing answer, and it mars the reflections on these stirring events.

Open book

J. E. S. FAWCETT: *The Application of the European Convention on Human Rights*. 368pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £3 15s.

If the democratic protest against the Colonels' regime in Greece has temporarily brought into the limelight the work of the European Commission of Human Rights in Strasbourg, one can fairly say that, even among lawyers, this new jurisprudence has remained to most people in Britain a closed book. No one is better fitted to fill the gap in public knowledge and supply the necessary expertise than James Fawcett, Fellow of All Souls (and now Director of Studies at Chatham House), who has been for several years now a member of the Commission. The method followed in his authoritative study is an analysis, Article by Article, clause by clause (in the two official texts, English and French) of the application in practice of the European Human Rights Convention—up to the end of 1967. Dr. Fawcett expounds the Convention's provisions, with appropriate references to the *travaux préparatoires*, describes the issues raised in applications brought under the Convention (the resulting definitive interpretations being listed in Appendix I) and goes on to elucidate the reasoning of the decisions made.

It happens that most of the applications filed hitherto are concerned with Articles 5 and 6 of the Convention, relating to the right to liberty and security of person, so that the work of the Commission (and, incidentally, the Court) is "perhaps disproportionately" involved with issues pertaining to the administration of criminal justice in the states. But, as Dr. Fawcett's exegesis shows, the proceedings have revealed a number of fascinating legal innovations which merit the consideration of scholars. There is, for example, the question of the relationship of the Convention to domestic law. The obligation on the Contracting Parties is, in the Commission's formula, "to ensure that their domestic body of law is compatible with the Convention, and, if need be, to make any necessary adjustments to this end". But this does *not* necessarily mean incorporating legislation. In fact, in nine out of the sixteen countries, including the United Kingdom, which are parties to the Convention, its provisions are not, constitutionally or by legislative enactment, part of domestic law—though of these nine all except Cyprus and Malta have accepted the right of individual petition to the Commission. (Thus, the provisions of the Convention as such are not justiciable in any court of the United Kingdom.) In short, it is left to each contracting state to secure in its own way domestic efficacy for the provisions of the all-important Section I. And, of course, all legal remedies at home must be exhausted before any application can be made to the Strasbourg machinery—the only "supranational" feature, incidentally, of the Council of Europe.

CANADA BY GEORGES CONCHON

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Published by **Kaye & Ward** *194-200, Bishopsgate, E.C.2*

Squaring the circle

GEOFFREY SAWYER: *Modern Federalism*. 204pp. C. A. Watts. 15s.

Federalism is a sophisticated form of political organization, which requires of its citizens a high degree of maturity, respect for the rule of law, and willingness to be mutually accommodating. Not surprisingly, a high proportion of existing federations are to be found among the English-speaking peoples, such as the United States, Canada and Australia. Others have been established more or less successfully in countries once ruled or conquered by the English-speaking peoples, such as India or West Germany. On the other hand, the British have also been responsible for some of the most calamitous failures, such as the federations in Central Africa, in the West Indies, in Nigeria, in the Arabian peninsula, and to a more limited extent in Malaysia. In retrospect it is clear that the divisive elements among the different units of population—whether racial, religious, economic or geographical—were too severe to make effective federation possible. Yet it was precisely to overcome those differences that the federations were devised; and if the differences had not existed, federation would probably never have been thought necessary.

What, then, are the essential preconditions of successful federation? Mr. Sawyer lists half a dozen. There must first be a country "which, taken as a whole, is a Nation State". (This criterion, of course, at one blow disqualifies most of the federations that have parted in the past two decades.) It must be divided into geographical areas with institutions of their own. Power must be distributed between the centre and the regions; and the distribution must be defined by a constitution with certain entrenched provisions. There must be provision for the settlement of disputes between the centre and the regions, and the distribution of powers between them must be "interpreted and policed by a judicial authority". Mr. Sawyer finds at least these minimum principles embodied in all successful federations, together with variable additions in some of them. The constitutions of the United States and Malaysia, for instance, are almost unrecognizably dissimilar; and the balance of power between the centre and the regions is notably different in, say, Switzerland and Australia. But they all exemplify Mr. Sawyer's basic principles. They also illustrate the kind of national characteristics which are required in a way that Canada, India, Switzerland and Germany are treated as examples of "organic federalism", in which the powers of the centre and the regions are kept roughly in balance. The remainder of Central Africa, the West Indies or the Arabian peninsula do not.

Mr. Sawyer's study of federalism is almost equally divided between historical evolution and constitutional analysis. Both parts are equally well done, in a style that is none the less readable for being compact and economical. He wastes little space on the failures, since the reasons for failure are in all cases obvious and of little interest to the constitutional lawyer. The only possible verdict on them is that they should never have been attempted, though Mr. Sawyer (like everyone else) has no ready answer to the question of what should have been attempted instead. He has some interesting points to make about "incipient federations", such as Yugoslavia and even the Soviet Union (both of which are too centralized to count as true federations up to date); and even more remote possibilities, such as a political framework for the European Economic Community. In the main, however, he is concerned with the mainstream of federal development.

The grouping of the six principal cases shows his view of their character and evolution. In the historical chapters, the United States is treated as a case apart, followed by two chapters which classify Switzerland, Canada and Germany together on the one hand and Australia, India, Pakistan, Malaysia and Nigeria together on the other. This essentially chronological arrangement is altered in the later chapters, in which Germany becomes the Federal Republic and Pakistan, Malaysia and Nigeria disappear. Mr. Sawyer then draws together the United States and Australia as examples of "coordinate federalism", in which the powers of the centre and the regions are kept roughly in balance. The remainder

Maoism

STUART R. SCHRAM: *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*. 479pp. Penguin. 10s.

Professor Schram is the leading western interpreter of Mao. As well as this book, he has produced an excellent biography (*Mao Tse-tung*) and a scholarly edition of the famous "little red book" (*Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung*). *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung* is an exposition of the nature and development of Mao's ideas through a skilfully arranged anthology of passages running from his first appearance in print, in 1917, down to his directives on the Cultural Revolution, in 1967-68, with a long introduction and detailed notes.

The book was first published in 1963 and immediately became the standard introduction to Mao's ideas. As well as being brought up to date for its appearance as a Pelican Book, it has been enlarged and thoroughly revised, so it is now even more valuable than before (the new edition will shortly be available in hardback from the Pall Mall Press). Professor Schram's chief contribution is his careful analysis of the real nature of what Mao has actually said and written. In the first edition he deprecated the use of the term "Maoism" because Mao's ideas did not seem to add up to a new system: he has now changed his mind, especially in view of the events of the Cultural Revolution, and the book is now the standard introduction to Maoism

Burns, Beetles and Bates

...ESS LUNT: *Bokhara Burnes*. ...pp. 30s. GEORGE WOODCOCK: *Henry Walter Bates*. 269pp. 35s. Faber and Faber.

...e exceptionally handsome small ...ks are the first of a series, "Great ...oklers", intended to resuscitate ...e of the half-forgotten adven...s of the past—the Burtons ...ouse, the new-Livingstones, the ...s who never got there. The books ...e transient celebrities wrote themselves now provide profitable grist for ...e reprint mills, but the new series ...s with them more sensibly: by ...ining their narratives in the hands ...practised contemporary authors ...lowing them to construct biographical backgrounds to their tales ...travel.

The first two subjects are both, in ...o different ways, archetypal minor ...victorians. Bates was a pre-Darwin...n evolutionist, self-taught, who ...caped from his family hosiery firm ...Leicester to spend eleven years ...ecting birds, beasts and insects on ...e Amazon. Burnes was a Scottish ...ller who made a daring journey ...m India through Afghanistan to ...khara, was immoderately lionized ...England, and died playing an ...ive role in the British occupation ...Afghanistan in 1841. Both were ...n of staunch and conventional re...ligious tithe one a Unitarian, the ...her son of a Provost of Montrose who succumbed like so many travelling Victorians to the sensual delights of foreign places. Neither quite fulfilled his early promise, so that their lives suitably demonstrate what a gulf lies between the men who can stamp their greatness upon posterity, and those whose memory must be deliberately revived in nice little books with pictures.

Bates is the more attractive of the two, a gentle, bespectacled, earnest, self-educated Midlander who is best portrayed, wearing a check shirt and a wide straw hat, in a lovely picture called "Bates Attacked by Toucans". Everybody seems to have liked him. During his years of indefatigable wandering up and down the great river he made friends with all sorts—Catholic priests, dissolute planters, Indian tribespeople, Irish traders—the whole range of river society from officialdom to riff-raff. He collected several thousand specimens hitherto unknown to science, became an intimate of Darwin, wrote a solitary best-seller, and ended his life respectably but lamely as assistant secretary of the Royal Geographical Society—at the same time symbolically shifting his entomological attentions from butterflies to ground beetles.

Unfortunately "Bokhara" Burnes, a much less estimable character, makes for a much more exciting book. Nothing much, oddly enough, actually happened to Bates: startling things occurred to Burnes. We see him conveying English dray horses as official gifts to Ranjeet Singh; interpreting for the crazy Dr. Wolff at the court of Dost Mohammed; posing as an Armenian watchmaker at Kunduz; discussing with the Shah of Persia the eating of horseflesh among the Uzbegs; fulsomely flattered by William IV in Brighton Pavilion; and finally cut to pieces by the mob in the Residency garden at Kabul.

As cautionary tales, then, the two little books would perfectly satisfy the author of *The Fairchild Family*. Bates, who remained for the most part modest, diligent and apparently continent, ended up in a position of honoured responsibility, while Burnes, who liked to live well and loosely, was dismembered by savages. As works of craftsmanship they would please Samuel Smiles, for they are both polished and professional jobs. George Woodcock, who is also the general editor of the series, is himself a South American traveller, and responds with just the right mixture of shudder and abandonment to the hum of the mosquitoes, the peeling pretensions of the river towns, and the ghastly delays of Amazonian travel. General Lunt is a sensitive scholar-soldier, who tries gamely to convince us that his hero is a better man than he seems, but succeeds instead in giving us a loving vignette of a period, an atmosphere and a corner of the world.

Upward and onward

YURI GAGARIN: *Doroga v kosmos*. 96pp. Moscow: Voyennoye Izdatelstvo Ministerstva Oborony. 97 kops.

At 10.55, Moscow time, on April 12, 1961, Yuri Gagarin, the first man to orbit the earth in space, came down in a ploughed field near the village of Smelovka. Only a woodcutter's wife, a small girl and a spotted calf were close enough to see the man in the bright orange space suit climb out and advance towards them. The woman looked rather frightened, so, taking off his helmet, he shouted "Friends, I'm one of your own people! You can't have come out of space!" the woman exclaimed and fainted. "Yes, just think of that!" Then a group of collective farm-workers ran up shouting, "Yuri Gagarin, Yuri Gagarin!"

That same day, the *Pravda* office decided it would publish the memoirs of the first cosmonaut. Two staff correspondents were charged with the job of getting material from Gagarin and "writing it up in literary form". The articles appeared in *Pravda* and were later brought out in book form as *Doroga v Kosmos* ("The Road to the Cosmos"). This took Gagarin from his early childhood to the historic space-flight. A new edition, published posthumously, now adds some 200 pages in which we follow the hero on his world travels; we also observe subsequent space launchings through his eyes.

The long tedium of the book's impeccable ideological orthodoxy cannot quite obscure the drama of the single chapter which deals with its pioneering and which appeared in the first edition. Parts of the transcript of conversations with Gagarin when he was on the launching pad and later in space have been used. Like the account of the landing, they carry a note of authenticity. The rest of the book is a lengthy exposition of what a Soviet hero should feel and think, and in no way an intimate picture of Gargarin the man. There are never any doubts in his mind; throughout his career he proceeds decisively, helped on by wise, heroic and kindly friends and colleagues. He apostrophizes the army, the Communist Party and its leadership, he asks for the hardest jobs, he puts activities for the Komsomol, he moves on with his political education, is overcome by the honour of finally being received into the Party. Only close friends will be able to say whether all this is the result of literary "writing-up", whether Gagarin was a natural and convinced disciple of orthodox cliché, or whether, like many Soviet citizens, he entertained a private way of thinking and "toll-

Epic source

FRANCES VERNOR GUILLE (Editor): *Le Journal d'Adèle Hugo*. Vol. I: 1852. 387pp. Paris: Minard. 46fr.

Adèle Hugo is a melancholy figure in the Hugolian epic. It is just possible that she was the daughter of Mme. Victor Hugo and Sainte-Beuve, but she was brought up to consider herself the daughter of the poet, and to share, with the rest of the family, in the obsessive cult which he inspired. She saw herself as "la digne fille de Victor Hugo", "la fille reine de Victor Hugo", and to those who pointed out the advantages of marriage, she said who would not have rejected it in order to keep the name of Miss Shakespeare.

Late in 1851, after the coup d'état of December 2, Hugo was told that his life was in danger. He escaped to Brussels, and in May, 1852, it was decided that the family would settle in Jersey. On August 5 Hugo landed at St. Helier, and within a few days the family had settled at Marine Terrace "imposante et sévère"; they stayed there until they moved to Hauteville House, in Guernsey, three years later.

This enforced and indefinite exile imposed its strains on them. Juliette Drouet, the poet's mistress, had accompanied him into exile, and always lived in a house near his own. Mme. Hugo (to judge from the photograph reproduced in this book) sank indifferently into middle age, with thinning hair and thickening figure. In 1854 Adèle fell in love with a dashing young careerist, Albert Pinson, an officer in the West Yorkshire Militia. From then on her life was changed: she set her heart on the marriage, which her father and mother refused to sanction. Mme. Hugo tried to distract her with visits to Paris. In the spring of 1863, Adèle made a last effort to obtain her father's consent. Since an interview was too difficult, she wrote him a nine-page letter; we do not know if he refused her request yet again, or if he was simply silent. However on June 18, 1863, Adèle left Guernsey for good. By mid-July she was in New York, on her way to join Pinson in Canada.

The Hugos faced the inevitable with what dignity they could muster, and announced her engagement and her marriage; but the dream had outstripped reality. Pinson, stationed in Nova Scotia, categorically refused to marry her; and Adèle broke under the nervous strain. It was a sad and curious repetition of history. In 1822, the day after Victor Hugo's wedding, his brother, Eugène, in love with the bride, had had a mental collapse from which he had never recovered. But Eugène Hugo had died young; Adèle was forty-two when her father had her brought back to France, and she was to live for another forty-three years in mental homes at Saint-Mandé and Suresnes. She outlived all her family and died in 1915.

In 1852, on the eve of her exile, she had begun to keep a diary. It was erratic, sometimes in code, sometimes spattered with English, and often difficult for the most determined scholar to decipher. Most of it was written between 1852 and 1856, but she continued to keep it until 1862. The manuscript of the diary was left behind at Hauteville House, when at last the family moved, and it was eventually sold to the son of an English autograph expert. Some of it is now in Paris and some in New York, and there may well be a third volume in existence. The late Professor Hoffherr of Columbia University worked on the manuscripts for thirty years, and now Miss Guille has completed his work. She presents the first of at least four volumes, meticulously edited and richly illustrated.

This first volume does not establish its author as a *femme de lettres*, but it reveals her as a passionate, original Romantic: a woman with a mind of her own, conscious of her remarkable beauty and of her prestige as Hugo's daughter. For students of the poet himself the diary is extremely rewarding. It reflects his daily life in exile with the precision (and indeed the tone) of a Court Circular. It presents some of his conversations and *obiter dicta* with (one feels) the accuracy of a stenographer: "Rendu aux joies intimes de la famille, Victor Hugo a raconté ainsi son départ de Bruxelles et son voyage de Bruxelles à Jersey." "Victor Hugo parla ainsi de l'autre vie. . . ." At times, one imagines, Hugo himself adds a touch or two to the manuscript. He himself looms over these pages, pompous, egotistic and dislikable as ever. One is grateful to Professor Hoffherr and to Miss Guille for their protracted labours on this diary. The introduction reveals Adèle with touching clarity; the diary itself will be an invaluable source-book for all students of Hugo, his work, his family and his milieu. One looks forward to the remaining volumes.

Tours

PATRICK ANDERSON: *Over the Alps*. 224pp. Rupert Hart-Davis. £2 10s.

Mr. Anderson, as his earlier autobiographies and travel-writings attest, is a highly cultivated, highly articulate person whose chief admitted interest is in his own reactions: "What good travel book", he asks, "is not also a journey through the writer's interior landscape?" And this subjective line of approach is responsible for the fact that he has here produced two separate books rolled into one, neither of them for this reason entirely satisfactory.

His accounts of Boswell's, Beckford's and Byron's Continental journeyings are most competently extracted from the relevant authorities and his comments upon them are uniformly sensible and illuminating; but what one feels his real concern to be is to inform us, at length and with a certain self-satisfaction, of his own visits to the same places—to Italy, to Greece, to the palace of Queluz in Portugal which Beckford described in his masterpiece; also and largely gratuitously, to the Bavaria of the mad king, Ludwig. All this is entertainingly done and the author must have enjoyed doing it; but the alternations between his subjective ebullitions and his staider passages of historical narrative are rather too frequent to be comfortable.

Two new volumes have appeared in the University of London Press's Textes Français Classiques et Modernes Series: Zola: *Contes choisis*. six stories edited by Professor J. S. Wood (159pp. 12s. Laminated paperback, 10s.); Georges Bernanos: *Journal d'un curé de campagne*, edited by Eithne M. O'Sharkey (288pp. 18s. 6d. Laminated paperback, 16s. 6d.). Both books have very full introductions, notes on the text and selected bibliography.

The Monastic Grange
Colin Platt
A fresh approach to the study of the twelfth-century monastic settlement, making use equally of the architectural, historical and archaeological evidence. The author disputes the accepted isolationism of the Cistercians, and reports on the excavation of an important grange establishment in Yorkshire. 80s

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MACMILLAN

By the waters of the Euxine

STEVEN RUNCIMAN: *The Great Church in Captivity*. 455pp. Cambridge University Press. £2 15s.

Western Christians who are interested in the Orthodox Church usually approach the subject in one of two ways: either through a study of Byzantium or else through the medium of Russian religious thought during the past hundred years. In both cases they tend to bypass the period of the *Tourkokratia*, the four centuries in which the Greek people—and much of the rest of the Orthodox world—lay under Ottoman domination. It is generally assumed that nothing of interest happened in these centuries of oppression and isolation. Yet in fact it was precisely during this time that the Orthodox Church, as it exists at present in Constantinople and Greece, was formed. Without taking into account the way Greeks lived and felt in the Ottoman period, and the way their theological thinking developed between 1453 and 1821, no one can properly understand the present condition of Greek Orthodoxy.

Sir Steven Runciman's study of this dark and neglected period is therefore exceedingly welcome. *The Great Church in Captivity* is divided into two parts, unequal in length and importance. The first and shorter part, which is more in the nature of an introductory section, describes the situation of Byzantine Christianity on the eve of the Turkish conquest. The second part, which constitutes the main body of the work, considers the situation of the Greek Church in the period that followed, under the Ottoman sultans. Of the first part Sir Steven observes, "I doubt if I have anything much to add that cannot be found in other works". This is probably true: but few if any other writers have summarized the known facts with such clarity and vividness. There is, in particular, a most helpful chapter on "The Church and the Philosophers", discussing the intellectual background of later Byzantine theology. In the chapter that follows this, Sir Steven brings out clearly the central importance of mystical theology within the Byzantine religious tradition; and, making good use of the studies by Lossky and John Meyendorff, he underlines the decisive significance of St. Gregory Palamas.

If in the first part Sir Steven is traversing what is today comparatively familiar ground, the second part is largely a pioneer work, in which the author has virtually no predecessors. The source material for the Turkish period is scattered, very uneven in value, and definitely more scanty than the documentation available for the last centuries of Byzantine history. Furthermore, in many instances such sources as do exist have not yet been analysed systematically, and there is a serious lack of reliable and scholarly studies on points of detail. All this is bound to hamper an historian who, like Sir Steven, attempts to present an all-embracing picture. He has surmounted the difficulties with remarkable success.

Especially impressive are the three chapters with which the second part opens, outlining the general situation of Greek Christendom under the Turks—the relations between the Church and the "infidel state", and the conditions of education. "It was in the sphere of education", Sir Steven justly remarks, "that the Greek Church was to feel the effects of servitude most profoundly and most disastrously". There is a highly illuminating section about the influence of the neo-Aristotelian School of Padua upon Greek religious thought. In subsequent chapters he examines the negotiations of the Patriarchate of Constantinople with western Christians—Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans—and among other things he provides a fascinating account of the abortive Greek College at Oxford.

After chapters on the relations with Moscow and the activities of the Phanariots in Romania, he finally describes the events leading up to the Greek rising of 1821. From these last page, of his book a painful paradox emerges: it was the Church which kept alive the Greek national consciousness during four centuries of servitude; yet most of the men who planned and led the struggle for independence were inspired, not by the Church, but by secular movements in the west—the Enlightenment, freemasonry, the American and the French Revolutions. They regarded the Church as essentially backward and obscurantist, and when they looked to the past, it was the Athens of Pericles rather than Christian Byzantium that they took as their model.

With characteristic skill Sir Steven has produced an account which fulfils the dust jacket's claims of being "both scholarly and readable". Perhaps inevitably, he has sometimes sacrificed the full complexity of historical detail in the interests of graphic description. The second part of *The Great Church in Captivity* suffers—as the author admits in his preface—from a certain lack of balance in the proportion of space assigned to different topics. The story of Cyril Lukaris, and the contacts of the Ecumenical Patriarchate with Lutherans and Anglicans, are discussed at length, while other subjects are considered in a far more perfunctory manner or passed over altogether. An important figure such as St. Cosmas the Aetolian is nowhere mentioned. More should have been said about the controversy of the *Kollyrades* in the second half of the eighteenth century and about the "Hesychast Renaissance" inspired by St. Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain. Incidentally, the two mentions of Nicodemus are not coordinated, and the unwary reader might well fail to realize that they refer to the same person. The index is unhelpful here, for it lists only the first of these two passages. The bibliographical footnote on the *Philokalia* is incomplete and misleading: and it is very questionable to assert that Nicodemus "owed more to Loyola and the Western mystics than to the Hesychasts".

Little or nothing is said about the influence of the "New Martyrs" or about the conversion of Orthodox to Islam. How numerous were the cases of apostasy? What of the communities in Asia Minor which abandoned the use of the Greek language in favour of Turkish, while still remaining Christian? Sir Steven is at his best when describing the "diplomatic history" of the Patriarchate and its foreign relations, along with the intellectual *milieu* and the state of learning and education in the Church. He is less full and less satisfying when he analyses the relationship between Church and people, the place of religion in men's daily life, the outlook of the ordinary Christian. There is a wealth of material that he could have exploited here, although admittedly much of it is not easily accessible.

The bibliography includes almost all the western studies on the subject, but is somewhat selective in its choice of works in modern Greek. It must be noted with regret that both here and in other parts of the book there is an unmistakable carelessness over points of detail. The same author appears both as "B. Stephanides" and as "V. Steplanidou"; both "De Hauterive, Comte" and "Hauterive, Compte de"; "Hoffinger" and "Hottinga"; "Peshkevich" and "Antony the Exarch"; and "Amphilochius the Patriarch"; and so on. It would seem churlish for a reviewer to draw attention to such minor slips; but we have a right to expect better from an historian as eminent as Sir Steven and from an academic publisher with the reputation of the Cambridge University Press.

Sir Steven does not gloss over the alarming decadence which Greek Orthodoxy underwent during the Turkish period, the venality of the higher clergy, the ignorance of many monks and parish priests. But he writes always with genuine compassion; never sneering, but seeking always to understand the manifold difficulties of those who, because of their Christian faith, were condemned permanently to remain second-class citizens. He recognizes that, although there are many things to pity in the state of the Greek Church under the Ottomans, there are also many things to admire. "The Greek themselves", he writes,

> have tended to neglect the history of their forefathers under Turkish domination. They do wrong; for, though it contains much that is melancholy for a Christian to recall, it also bears witness to the brave and unquenchable vitality of Hellenism and to the spiritual strength of the Holy Orthodox Church.

The Great Church in Captivity illuminates an obscure and little explored period of Church history. Working for the most part with disorganized and intractable source material, Sir Steven has used his powers of synthesis to the full. Neither in English nor indeed in any other Western European language does there exist a study of comparable scope and brilliance.

Constabulary duties

MARTIN and GAIL WILSON: *The Police: A Study in Manpower*. 296pp. Heinemann. £4 4s.

Mr. Martin's study of police manpower, of which Miss Wilson is co-author, was undertaken while they were on the staff of the University of Cambridge Institute of Criminology. It began as an analysis of "the social aspects of law enforcement" but changed into something very different: a short history of police in England and Wales from 1829 to 1965 and an examination of the use of manpower in recent years.

The history is necessarily sketchy and the authors' opinions are sometimes questionable. The "impetus" which resulted in the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 is said to have been "to some extent a result of political outrages, but the great crisis in police work throughout the nineteenth century was on the prevention of public order". The first part of this statement does not square with the evidence nor with the categorical instruction first issued for the new force: "The object to be attained is the prevention of crime." The public order objective was much more important in the establishment of provincial police forces. We shall never know how wasteful nineteenth-century unit-beat patrolling was, nor how much crime it prevented; but we do know that it was the beat officer who established the police image which soon became the envy of police forces all over the world.

For a more rounded and more accurate account of the last century's police arrangements it is still necessary to turn to T. A. Critchley's *A History of Police in England and Wales, 1900-1966* (1967), the title of which is misquoted in a footnote of the present book, which contains other minor errors.

The description of the police college at Bramshill as a "renovated Jacobean mansion" takes no account of the substantial ranges of new buildings in which the college is also housed. No mention is made of the pioneer work of the research committee of the Association of Chief Police Officers, which preceded the setting-up of the Home Office's Police Research and Development Branch. It is odd, too, to find the statement that homicide and major robberies are so serious and so public that the police *have* to give them due importance. The authors have nevertheless collected much interesting historical data which valuably supplements Mr. Critchley's work.

The examination of the use of police manpower is based upon a survey of the work, recorded by the individuals concerned, of more than 8,000 police officers and civilians in twelve provincial police forces and the central traffic division of the Metropolitan Police, taken in each case over a period of a fortnight. This was a considerable enterprise, and it was clearly directed in an able and effective way. Much significant information has been brought together, often in tabular form, to enable the authors to apply, as Professor Radzinowicz remarks in his foreword, social accounting techniques to a public service which has received little academic attention. The police administrator should value it, and it serves to introduce the layman to the variety and emphases of police duties.

The paradox which has fascinated the authors (it has long been familiar to the police) is that there is concern over manpower shortage "in the face of an increased national expenditure and an improvement in strength related to population". Facts and figures bring them to the conclusions—with which the service can only agree—that better conditions of service have reduced the individual officer's hours, that more time is spent on training and that traffic work has greatly increased. The scientific scrutiny of the paradox is still very useful and the statistics it has produced should help the police in their dealings with central and local government. It should be music in police ears to hear that, if police responsibilities can no longer be discharged by "the old methods of overworking the individual officers" (there is ample evidence in the book that this is just what was done—and in some respects is being done still), then the only alternative is the better use of personnel, which depends on "capital investment, and on training".

History does not stand still for authors, and this Professor Martin and Miss Wilson fully realize. They have written of an era which ended when the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Police were translated into legislation and administrative action. The police since 1964 has been for the police a period of rapid, radical change, and already some of the measures on which high hopes were based, such as unit beat policing, are now causing second thoughts. The whole and not just the first part of this study may thus be regarded as historical. The authors have not made their reader's task an easy one but they have possibly made him a little wiser and certainly better informed.

Learn

STEPHEN KING: *Ten Years All In*. 205pp. John Baker. 30s.

Mr. King is the headmaster of Thirsk Comprehensive School in the North Riding of Yorkshire. It was originally a grammar school which became a coeducational grammar and secondary modern school and is now a coeducational comprehensive serving the small town of Thirsk and the neighbouring villages. *Ten Years All In* is a most interesting and ingenious book recording the growth of the school over the past ten years or so by means of excerpts from headmasters' reports, letters from parents and contributions to the school magazine, with a sort of running commentary by the headmaster. He describes the problems of erecting the buildings and of accommodation, how the school was organized and staff recruited, the academic achievements, the difficulties they had with such worthies as a local landowner and with a local paper—both of whom seem to have been extraordinarily unsympathetic—the relationships with the local community and problems of young masters falling in love with sixth-form girls.

It is to be doubted whether Mr. King would be regarded as a Michael Duane of the progressive educational movement, nor on the other hand can he be described as a reactionary, but as a picture of a sympathetic, interesting man doing a worthwhile job this is probably one of the most remarkable books on education to be published in the past few years. It gives a true picture of what life is like in such a school—neither too rosy nor too bluck—and any parent whose children are about to enter a comprehensive could do much worse than to read this book.

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Parish-pumpery

ARNOLD BLYTHE: *Akenfield: Portrait of an English Village*. 180pp. Allen Lane: The Penguin Press. 35s.

Akenfield is not listed among the villages of Suffolk, but the nucleus of this highly interesting community will not be difficult to identify for anyone who knows the countryside between Ipswich, Woodbridge, Wickham Market and Framlingham, not far from some of its pseudonymous inhabitants. East Suffolk is in some danger of becoming one of the best documented counties of Britain, in its social rather than the topographical sense. Into its small, compact farmhouses and cottages, which jump ahead of the commuter belt, writers of more than ordinary sensibility have moved over the past decade and have found material to fire the imagination. We may yet learn from this movement a twentieth-century *Lavengro*.

Akenfield is hardly that, because its people are static, not essentially wanderers. Nor is its landscape lit by Borrow's romantic vision. The setting which it fixes is no more than pleasant—a countryside whose features are little valleys and isolated trees, distant church towers and undistinguished groups of cottages seen across rapidly unhedged expanses of corn which breast the rise of the ground. There are no long horizons.

On the surface its inhabitants are usually unsensational, not hostile but occasionally hard to make contact with. The "furriner" is still a part of their thinking and implies neither evil colour nor passport; the attitude survives even after those villages have four or four hundred inhabitants have found themselves pushed into a much wider world. Their elder children are transported to area schools and take industrial jobs in the towns. The farmers who employ labour locally are apt to be second generation Scots. There is a growing influx of adult town workers, with jobs ranging from teaching to building or haulage.

An attempt has been made here to let the old and the new inhabitants tell their own stories, with the briefest of background commentary, to make a composition as complicated in its way as a major Breughel. For to become a society with vertical and diagonal divisions as well as merely horizontal interests

towns. There are some gaps in the pattern, inevitably, and perhaps they could be filled only by an author less politically compassionate and less involved with some of his subjects than this author has become.

Without that involvement, however, he could hardly have won the confidence which gives reality to the stories of the younger village lads of the new generation as well as the survivors of other and harder times—not always in fact many years away.

For the men of that generation, it was usually only war that took them temporarily away, from tasks that their ancestors had been doing for centuries in the same place—and, as another Suffolk author has recently reminded us—often with much the same tools. Others of their contemporaries might be driven into towns or across the seas by economic circumstances; they had an attachment to their own soil as strong as a "well-founded" New Forest pony which will not graze more than a mile or two from the place of its foaling.

Villages of this sort are not entirely self-contained but have their groupings and their joint enthusiasms, not always appreciated by the stranger living within their boundaries. Change ringing is one such (paragraphs headed "Campanology" used regularly to record their more remarkable feats of endurance in the local papers).

There are the strict Baptists, whose tenets and preaching would not have been unfamiliar in a Cromwellian army and whose periodic district meetings conclude with what one gourmand reporter has said were the most satisfying repasts he had ever enjoyed in his life.

It is a country of craftsmen, carrying on with old materials in old ways and occasionally achieving far more than local fame—notably one smith whose ancestors might well have "hammered out a bassinet into a round salade", both of the highest quality. He happily has found young apprentices to inspire.

Some of these people have been described by others, though not always so well. Other writers have sketched the changes in village education, though seldom with such effective economy. But nostalgia has been apt to exclude such characters as the pioneering soldier turned large-scale pig farmer, the leading lights of the Women's Institute, or the very realistic minded lady who presides with humanity and common sense

Teacher power

FRANK MUSGROVE and PHILIP H. TAYLOR: *Society and The Teacher's Role*. 104pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 21s.

One of the most interesting aspects of modern society is the tyranny of the professional person, which is not necessarily quite the same thing as the tyranny of the expert. Though formally the schools and the hospitals belong to us, and though formally, as adults, we are masters of our own fates or, as parents, masters of our children's fates, once our child darkens the door of a school or we almost entirely within the power of the teacher, the doctor or the nurse.

In this interesting and stimulating book, *Society and the Teacher's Role*, Mr. Musgrove and Mr. Taylor have sought to analyse the underlying reasons behind teachers' behaviour. It is based upon a series of studies of the way in which teachers view their job, the way in which people they know think of their job and the way that parents and pupils think of teachers. The book wisely emphasizes that a teacher's own experience as a student, plus the great influence of his colleagues in the staff room, is what ultimately determines his teaching pattern. The influence of the training course and other ideas is, except for a few, not likely to be very great. Only in very isolated schools or in middle-class areas are the parents likely to be influential. For the great mass of teachers teaching the working-class and lower middle-class children in suburbs and inner urban areas the influence of the parents is not very direct or immediate.

On the basis of carefully selected statistical surveys, necessarily somewhat handicapped by the imprecision of questions about attitudes, it became apparent that working-class parents expect teachers to be more concerned about guiding children in correct patterns of behaviour than middle-class parents do. Mr. Musgrove and Mr. Taylor say, probably correctly, that middle-class parents are reasonably satisfied that their children will behave correctly, whereas working-class parents on the whole will only expect their children with humanity and common sense

Working-class parents, though academically less ambitious for their children than middle-class parents, expect the school to be strict, to have a more formal curriculum, and to be heavily concerned with traditional subjects.

Thus, as pedagogical methods change and almost inevitably become less formal and as the weight of pedagogical experience suggests major changes in the curriculum, it is probable that the expectations of the parents, particularly in working-class districts, will sharply differ from the expectations of the teachers. It is far more probable that the working-class parent would subscribe to the tenets of the Black Paper.

In discussing the role and status of the teacher, Mr. Musgrove and Mr. Taylor's perceptive observation—that because of the rapid expansion of the education service, and the rapidity of promotion in education, far more teachers are now concerned because they have a higher status in society than they expected—is in striking contrast to the orthodox view that one of the problems of the teachers is their relatively low status compared with the importance of their work.

Finally, Mr. Musgrove and Mr. Taylor arrive at a somewhat surprising but perhaps important judgment: they end up as supporters of what has become popularly known as the "voucher" system. They exhort parents to think of themselves as clients and make this most important statement:

> The teacher in the maintained schools will cease to be above the morality of a true contractual relationship with his clients only when his monopoly is broken; this will happen when he and the school he serves are one alternative in a wide range between which parents can freely choose (after taking professional advice, and submitting to professional diagnosis, as they would if responsibly seeking professional service in any field of conduct).

They suggest that the role of the parent should be to choose his professional advisers much as the middle-class parent chooses his boarding school, his doctor, lawyer, or accountant. This is an exceptionally interesting idea, and one which deserves much greater debate and inquiry.

The Imagery and Poetry of LUCRETIUS

DAVID WEST

Lucretius, it is often held, is the easiest of Latin authors to understand. This book suggests that the poetry is hardly understood at all in that scholars and translators have repeatedly failed to grasp the full force of the images and their bearing on the argument. Published at 35s. by

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Hard option

JAMES COLAIANNI (Editor): *Married Priests and Married Nuns*. 230pp. Michael Joseph. 30s.

The law of priestly celibacy will certainly not be altered by the present Pope, but, as one contributor to this informative symposium, *Married Priests and Married Nuns*, has it, "optional celibacy is an idea whose time has come". All the time official discussion of the problem is refused, there will continue to be a lack of information. The hard facts—how many priests are leaving, how does the machinery of dispensation of their vows work, how well or badly is celibacy observed—are clouded and confused. The only certainty is that Rome has a problem.

The dozen priests and ex-priests who contribute their experiences are all, with the exception of Archbishop Roberts, from America, where, it seems, the symptoms of unrest are far greater than our own. But—give a little, take a little—their criticisms are equally valid for this country.

The rigid seminary training—in the desert, apart from the world—the credibility gap between the superior and the young priest, the demands of the system which comes before any work, however compelling: above all the refusal of human relationships (except the adolescent relationships with one's family). And suddenly, blindingly, the arrival of a woman who offers the possibility of a deep human relationship for the first time. At this level, *Married Priests and Married Nuns* is an overwhelming indictment of an impersonal church structure that will surely crumble in time. For the sake of balance, it is a pity that the positive side of celibacy could not have been put—albeit unfashionably—by the other side. One needs a reminder that the fight is on for *optional* celibacy.

One of the most lucid and personal contributions comes from an ex-priest who married an ex-nun. In spite of the somewhat embarrassing love letters, their joint account tells much of the hard fact surrounding the situation and the human dilemma to be found there. But official church attitudes are changing so fast that some allegations are no longer true. It is not necessary to leave the priesthood and marry in order to receive dispensation from the vow of celibacy. Since Pope John, dispensation with the freedom to marry has been possible for the Roman priest; but his case normally takes anything up to two years (a similar period is taken by the Rota with marriage annulments). While undoubtedly Rome is often persuaded to hasten a case to avoid scandal, it is not true that his getting married is the condition of a priest receiving his freedom.

Excellent as it is, this further collection of the experiences of priests does no more than describe the sociological problem and the urgent need for reform. What is now needed is a critical examination of the Roman theology of the priesthood that identifies celibacy with the ministry. Until Rome reforms her understanding of the role of her priests in the structure of the church, she will not repair the undoubted damage being done to so many of her most generous servants.

INDUSTRIAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Vol 6 No 2 Editor: Dr John Butt

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Goole: A Pre-Victorian Company Town, J D PORTEOUS; Further Observations on the Bowling Ironworks, CHARLES DODSWORTH; Joseph Paxton and the Crystal Palace, RICHARD KING; McDougall's Clay Pipe Factory, Glasgow, I C and L L DES WALKER; Aids to Recording—(3) Surveying an Industrial Ruin: The Abbey Mill, West Ham, ALAN L THOMAS; (4) Industrial Sites, RICHARD STOREY; Jennings South Western Pottery, Parkstone: A Preliminary Survey Report, A J A COOKSEY. Also other articles, book reviews, illustrated Notes and News. 104 pp with 8 pp plates. Quarterly. Annual Subscription 42s. single copies 10s 6d.

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Episcumenic

BENGT SUNDKLER: *Nathan Söderblom*. 438pp. Lutterworth Press. £3 3s.

Is it because of some trick of personality, or is it perhaps no more than the odd chance of things that there are eminent men whose biographies are written while they are still able to touch up the portrait, and others equally deserving of such recording who, like Archbishop Söderblom of Uppsala who died in 1931, have to wait for more than a generation before the obviously necessary book is written? Possibly in this case the fault could in some measure be his own, for, no doubt conscious that he was engaged in an enterprise of outstanding importance, he preserved not only what might be judged historical documents, but every scrap of his own writing. It is a collection vast enough to deter any but the most devoted historian. It is worth noting that there remain some 40,000 letters, seventy big files on special subjects, 150 notebook diaries, extensive files of paper clippings, and eighteen big boxes of Ecumenical papers, in addition, of course, to the archbishop's own books. The biographer had indeed a formidable task.

And Söderblom was in many ways a formidable man. He was born in 1866 into a home of quite startling pietistic rigour, and though fairly soon he escaped from its unlovely type of religion, the upbringing gave him an unflinching industry and an unwavering sense of duty. Whatever he did—studying theology, grasping the new biblical and doctrinal ideas that were alive in Germany, caring for his people in his early ministry, taking his place in the university, where he was elected Dean of the Faculty at a surprisingly early age, or throwing himself into the new Ecumenical movement—he gave himself whole-heartedly to his work. One gets the impression from Bengt Sundkler's biography of a man with a quite amazing and untiring drive which must sometimes have been disconcerting to lesser men.

The book concentrates on his ecumenical work, and quite rightly, for travelling widely and meeting everyone whose sympathies lay with his hopes, he was clearly one of the leading men who inspired the movement. Without him no doubt it would have happened, for it was part of the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the time, but with him it moved faster and with greater determination. The First World War, far from interrupting him, supplied fresh impetus, for as he read history, the war was something that demanded the overriding of destructive nationalism which a united church ought to be able to give. His work for peace—and how delightfully cautious was Archbishop Davidson in his dealings with him—was of course for peace, for he saw war as an abomination, but it was equally inspired by his conviction that the divisions of Christians helped to make war possible. He refused to accept the fact that Europe was committed to war and would remain committed until it was worn out, and to the end he continued to plan. He saw his shining goal too clearly to be deterred by the failure of his plans.

Another remarkable side to his character is that in spite of the demands of all this international work, and in spite of the administrative necessities of his archdiocese—and there is a splendid painting of him dedicating a new church as a frontispiece to the book—his theological concern was equally unflagging. He had been acutely aware of the impact of German scholarship, and in that severe and often hostile climate he had had to work his way, and the way of those to whom he ministered, to a solidly based Christian faith. When he died, still only sixty-five, he had just delivered in Edinburgh his Gifford Lectures on the person of Christ, which were published posthumously.

Altogether Söderblom was a very remarkable man, but it should be said that the word formidable applies to his outstanding industry rather than to the man himself, for he was personally very approachable. If in the photograph of him at his desk he looks solidly determined, there is another photograph of him smiling a welcome to the world at the Stockholm Conference of 1925 and radiating friendliness

Boom

FREDERICK FRANCK: *Exploding Church*. 309pp. Sheed and Ward. £2 10s.

So rapid are the currents of ecclesiastical change these days that Mr. Franck's 1966 investigation into the attitudes of liberal Dutch Catholics already has the air of *déjà vu*. He describes himself in *Exploding Church* as a "non-card-carrying Catholic", brought up in a traditionally Catholic area of Holland, who came to realize during the Second Vatican Council (which he attended as a journalist-artist) that many of his own opinions were shared by his fellow-countrymen. He himself had been living for many years in the United States and so had been cut off from the spectacular evolution of radical Dutch Catholicism.

There is nothing very surprising about his conclusions arrived at as a result of a detailed questionnaire submitted to "progressive" Dutch Catholics, and commented on by three Frenchmen, English, German and American. Little valleys and isolated trees, usual sharp reactions against ecclesiastical authority, the claims for an unfettered resort to conscience as the only valid way to resolve moral dilemmas, the criticism of curial bureaucracy and theological immobility.

"Obsolete", "irrelevant", "meaningless" are the most common epithets, and phrases such as "the spirit of Jesus is our Magna Carta" sum up attitudes that, however generous, are often extraordinarily naive. As regards the question, "why do you stay in the Church?", one answer can—not unfairly—stand for the majority: "I don't know any more whether I am inside or outside."

Within its stated terms of reference, *Exploding Church* is an illuminating account of how far the revolt against institutionalized Catholicism has gone among a large number of Dutch Catholics. But we are not given the other side of the story, nor are we given an adequate explanation of the reasons, inherent in recent Dutch history, which account for much of the revolution. And in spite of Mr. Franck's evident attempt to be objective, his questionnaire is heavily weighted in one

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Might is Right

TIMES PAST THE TIMES

T·L·S

68th Year 5 JUNE 1969 No. 3,510

There have been one or two rather sad straws of late to show which way the cultural-political wind is blowing in Eastern Europe. Judged in the communist context it appears to be very much a conservative wind, a wind of non-change. The first notable event was last week, when it was reported that the Soviet Writers' Union had asked Aleksandr Tvardovsky to resign from the editorship of *Novyy Mir*. Mr. Tvardovsky has edited this excellent Russian literary monthly since 1958, and during that period has published many items of the first importance, including work by Paustovsky, Voznesensky, Yevtushenko, Solzhenitsyn and Nekrasov; several of its issues have been reviewed or discussed in our columns. Last year it went through a relatively dull phase, but recently it has included a novella by Aksyonov, a story by Fazil Iskander and, in the latest issue, a dignified selection of poems by Yevtushenko.

At the same time Yevtushenko himself—one of the few prominent Soviet writers to have been obliquely critical of the invasion of Czechoslovakia—has been removed from the editorial board of the magazine *Yunost*, along with Aksyonov and the playwright Viktor Rosov. Both measures coincide depressingly with a strong attack on the more independent-minded intellectuals in last Thursday's issue of the party paper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. The author of this resounding piece was Kharif Sabirov, a lecturer from Kazan whose name has not, so far as we know, reached the West in any less ephemeral connexion. Mr. Sabirov's argument appears to be that intellectuals should not be so led away by their concern with Stalinism and its after-effects as to criticize the party, or to "take neutral, non-class positions" (i.e., presumably, think for themselves) or to become distracted from the main task of building communism. He also objected to the publication abroad of smuggled manuscripts, though without mentioning Solzhenitsyn's or other relevant names.

This warning has to be seen first of all in the context of the latest reports about the Soviet civil rights agitators, who recently wrote to the United Nations about the imminence of new repressive measures, and also of the harsh treatment being inflicted on Mrs. Daniel and other exiled critics of the regime. It is surely the resultant doubts about communism's essential "humanity"—or about its faithfulness to the heritage discussed in our front-page article—that has led convinced communists in many countries to see the construction of Soviet communism as less all-absorbing and all-justifying than it used to be. At the same time Mr. Sabirov himself made clear that the Czech liberalization of last year was relevant to his warnings. What must not be allowed, in his view, is the kind of initiative that was taken by the Czechoslovak writers and intellectuals, who at that time put themselves at the head of the reform movement in their country.

Up to now there has not been much sign of any corresponding reaction in Czechoslovakia itself. One or two writers, like Vaclav Havel, have found microphones in their homes, but nobody has actually been penalized, and the 2,000 Words Manifesto has not been treated as anything but a communist document. Now it looks as if things may be changing. The head of the party's Control Commission (which is virtually the horse's mouth) has spoken of the manifesto as "counter-revolutionary", and to judge from reports of the Central Committee meeting last weekend to have signed it is now seen as a positive offence, even if, as in the case of the Rector of Prague University, one that carries no penalty. For the moment intellectuals have been let off with a warning by Dr. Husak that they must not abuse their position in using it to lend authority to differences with the leadership. If there is said to be pressure for a party purge, and the Writers' Union weekly *Literární noviny* has been stopped publishing discussions with the party, it will be interesting to see what the journalists decide when their next executive meets next Monday. A "review past activities, embark on Without them the Russians would have got away with the invasion much more easily than they did.

But they did get away with it, and it is this that determines the political consequences in both countries. Even in some measure right through the communist block. The intellectuals—it is a nauseating word, but there is unfortunately no other—campaigned for liberalization and civil rights, and in Czechoslovakia they had the heady taste to win. The Soviet leaders (and the East Germans) saw a political danger in this, and invaded. Only the passive opposition of the Czechs held them up, together with the strongly expressed disapproval of the Italian and other foreign Communist Parties. Time has done a good deal to undermine the one, at least to a point where the leading reformers can be dismissed and the leading philosophers publicly whitewashed; today's meeting of Communist Parties in Moscow may show how far it has damped down the second. Eventually, though, the invaders feel that they have been proved right, which means that their case against the liberal intellectuals has been made good. In their whole zone of influence the arts and politics have already interlocked closely (they meet in the concept of "ideology"), and they have been brought even closer as a result of last year. What we are seeing now may only be the first signs of something that will harm creative and critical freedom in Eastern Europe for many months.

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Commentary

At Parma a fortnight ago the International Association of Literary Critics mooted by Yves Gandon in 1962 was formally constituted, at a congress attended by members of twenty-two nations. Valuable though this might be as a forum for East-West meetings in the literary domain (which is no doubt why Giancarlo Vigorelli of COMES made a speech promising it his support) the actual congress was a bit discouraging. The theme, "Aspects de la critique d'aujourd'hui", was a vague one, and it had been posed in entirely French terms (referring to Lanson, Bachelard &c.): there was only one delegate, Professor Ehrier-Blais of McGill University, from outside Europe; except among the Italians, there were too few people under fifty; and unfortunately the Italians tended to speak in an unnatural French which was almost impossible to disentangle from the echoes of a vaulted room full of plaster casts on a polished marble floor.

Nearly all the thirty or forty English critics (polyglots only) invited to express interest in the new Association have so far refused, so that it seems unlikely that there will be any Anglo-Saxon representation in future. This is understandable, since even the French kernel of the whole affair, the Syndicat des Critiques Littéraires of which M. Gandon is president, seems to represent neither the structuralists, the *Tel Quel* group, nor the Sartrians, whose collective absence gave the discussions a slightly old-fashioned air. When the West German Jurgheinz Jahn (there were no East Germans) suggested that the new Association should set out to attract writers from the developing countries to its meetings—which was the most hopeful possibility to emerge from three days of talks—it was depressing to hear the eminent Robert Goffin of the Royal Belgian Academy get up and deny flatly that such countries had any literature at all. M. Gandon, as the Association's newly elected president, clearly disagreed with that, but one cannot help suspecting that if, say, African critics ever do attend a congress they will prove to be experts on Corneille and Claudel rather than on Achebe and Béti.

It should be added that the Association's executive committee is to include Mario Praz (Italy), Alexander Mikhailov (Soviet Union), Vladimir Streinu (Rumania) and Constantin Dimaras (Greece). Also that the purely social side and the personal contacts, as usual at such meetings, were extremely pleasant and, together with the city itself, largely made up for hours of boredom in the hall.

* * *

Friends of the Arts Council Operative (FACOP for short) is the resounding title of an organization which, so far as one can discover from a newly published document called "The Need for an Artist's Council", has appointed itself to inquire into the way the Arts Council distributes its funds. An entirely worthy undertaking, in theory, and one which we ourselves have engaged in from time to time. FACOP, though, is not the most lucid of bodies and, getting at what it's getting at requires a rather more persevering kind of public spirit than most readers are likely to possess. The general point seems to be that artists should decide which artists get the booty, that an artists' panel should be elected by artists and should deliberate before an audience of artists. Sounds fine, provided that one is not too worried about the difficulty of defining who deserves to be labelled "artist", and provided that one does not frame too sceptical an image of what the average "begging" of this kind would actually be like ("spray gunners warring against lethal kinetic-ists, concrete poets hurling their bugs works at skulking lyricists?) but the small point does harbour some odd contradictions. On the one hand, we are told that the new artists' panel would ensure that applications are looked at with "greater critical evaluation, and more forcefully, than would be possible by a (sic) currently constituted panel. Greater knowledge and commitment should lead to more stringent enquiry." On the other hand (in the following paragraph) we learn that (a) the artists' panel need not exclude "people who were not purely concerned with creative activity" and (b) "with the sort of activities that this panel must look at, often the question of adjudging *single works* is no longer relevant: new questions of, e.g., technical feasibility, of the provision of space and a suitable environment, etc., arise, . . . Apart from the multiplicity of these activities in the sense of many *different* activities under one panel, which may also be *related* activities (many of them not purely artistic, but have a more social (e.g. applied, educational) significance, and therefore it is no longer relevant to apply purely artistic or musical or literary criteria." Prose style aside, it is difficult to see how a new stringency is to be tied in with such sinister permissiveness. Anyone who wants to find out can attend a conference of FACOP next Sunday at 11 a.m. at "I" Site, St. Katherine's Docks, St. Katherine's Way, London, S.E.1.

* * *

A George Eliot Commemoration week is to be held in Nuneaton (June 15-21) to mark the 150th anniversary of the novelist's birth. Writing in the publicity leaflet, Alderman Reg Hudden (well-with civic pride: "She was the novelist who opened the eyes of the world to the grandeur and glory of humble lives. Descendants of the men and women of her novels live and work in Nuneaton today . . . and the subtle simplicity of the Midland countryside which she so beautifully painted is all around us." Much then to commemorate. Events of the week include a George Eliot exhibition, a tour of the subtly simple George Eliot countryside (... a lecture, a film and a coffee evening. And true connoisseurs of the Great Tradition will be able to witness, in Astley Church, "The works of George Eliot immortalized in flowers". The flower arrangements, breathes the brochure, "are planned and arranged to portray some theme from the works of George Eliot". Further information

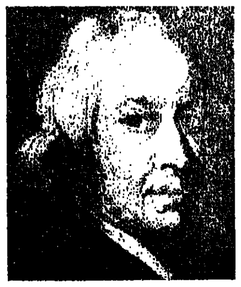


Pepys



Addison

Portrait of an age: 1660-1700



Dryden



Bunyan

JAMES SUTHERLAND: *English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century*. 580pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £2 15s.

PROFESSOR SUTHERLAND states: "For the literary historian the year 1660 marks a clearer break with the past than he is usually able to find." This is true, and he has exploited that favourable situation to write, as volume 6 of the *Oxford History of English Literature* a volume which is remarkably homogeneous in style. It is also eminently readable: it is also eminently readable, free from dominish pomp and circumstance, suffused throughout with a flicker of wit, and enlivened by the occasional epigram. Professor Sutherland's *English Literature of the Seventeenth Century* is indeed a model of how literary history should be written. He has no original, no exciting new explanation to proffer and no theories to expound; he merely knows his period well, and reports on it with sense, judgment and humour. His facts, so, are unspotted with footnotes—except for the very useful bibliographical summaries which give the reader all he needs to know. This admirable state of affairs has been achieved by placing the chronological charts and the magnificent classified bibliographies, at the end—where they occupy nearly a third of the whole volume.

Perhaps a "literary history", if it is such a good one (like Professor Sutherland's), has to be far more than a chronicle of literary works and a description of styles and genres; it has to be a "portrait of an age" taking account of all the master-currents—economic, political, religious, philosophical—which gave rise to its direction and influenced its tone. The present work attains this ideal beautifully; indeed, Professor Sutherland combines the panoramic brilliance of a Macaulay with the loving detail of a G. M. Young. Those of us who have lived through the reaction against "Victorianism" with its debunking of its ideals, its denigration of its symbols and its eminent characters—and those of the present generation who are in full cry against the hypocrisy, all standards imposed by the past alike in home, school, college, church or state, are in a position to realize what it must have felt like to be on the winning side after the Restoration. Then, as in our own time, there was a jubilant sense of release from the cant and hypocrisy, from the Puritanism which had banished all laughter, the theatre and the maypole, and all the glitter of the Fair; and (in the seventeenth century specifically) a determination to have done with all those warlike things who had sought:

> their doctrine orthodox
> Apostolic, blows and knocks.

The analogy cannot be pressed far; the resemblances lie on the surface, and do not reach down into the underlying structures of society and work. At the Restoration, the Puritans, representing the decadent traditions of courtly love and chivalry, were predominant in Court circles; but the "Philistines"—as they may use Arnold's label for the Victorians, commercial and dissenting classes—were also present and powerful, if temporarily submerged and under-privileged.

Within little more than half a century they were to stage a come-back as "humanized puritanism" of Addison and Addison has been followed by more than one critic of the first Victorian". Whereas in this egalitarian and permissive the century of the common man we are all "Populace" together and "Barbarians" and "Philistines" alike have lost their distinctive outlines and ethos.

Mr. Sutherland therefore neither approves of the "lubrique and adroit" age of Dryden for the reasons. Those who now take pleasure in the unbridled licence of Restoration-day plays and novels would be shocked by anything approaching Wycherley or Rochester today. They may even find Congreve conventional—or at least they may feel that their grace and wit provided an ambience which emboldened whatever it touched, and under which vice itself could lose its evil by losing all its sting. Not all, certainly: but the words about chivalry paying its due to Lamb's cheerful acceptance of gallantry, where the ladies may "take an airing" in the while from Christendom of cuckoldry.

Dryden, as Professor Sutherland says, became the dominant influence on the literary taste of the age, and accordingly he devotes by far his largest section to it—more than a third of his actual text. He has conscientiously raked over the "steaming Ordures of the Stage", not holding his nose but keeping his head as he uncovers not only the well-known specimens but also the productions of the usually unread dramatists such as Shadwell, Crowne, Ravenscroft, Aphra Behn, Tom Durfey, Lee, &c. In his final summing-up on Restoration comedy Professor Sutherland's judicious sanity emerges very clearly. He rejects both the "amoral acceptance of Lamb" and the "crude moral test of Jeremy Collier and Lord Macaulay" he might have added, of Steele also: "[these] men write as if[there was not one Man of Honour or Woman of Chastity in the House, and come off with Applause"). He mentions, without committing himself, the admirable judgment of Professor L. C. Knights, that the true objection to Restoration comedy is not that it is immoral but that it is confined to "a miserably limited set of attitudes". He thinks that more recent attempts to rehabilitate this drama as a serious criticism of life have "overshot the mark". And he concludes, surely rightly, that Dryden, Etherege and the rest simply provided what their audience wanted, namely a "comic catharsis", "an element of wish-fulfilment, and that sort of gratification which comes from being faintly but pleasantly shocked".

On the heroic play Professor Sutherland is equally sound, tracing its extravagance and bombast to the feeling expressed by Dryden, that in this kind of drama the more theatrical the theatre becomes, "the more completely is it fulfilling its function". He explains the vogue of the heroic play as providing (in Davenant's phrase) the proper entertainment of "the gentry", and especially of the king and court. If we insist on asking further why those gentry found entertainment in all this bluster and hyperbole, all these conflicts between Love and Honour, the answer cannot be "literary history" but only guesswork. One might say, I suppose, that the heroic plays were like the Lone Ranger of the western film, and so far as we take any interest in him at all it is the sort of interest we have in a dangerous animal, or, at the most, in a noble savage.

Of the minor tragic drama of the period Professor Sutherland says (and it is one of those remarks which continually endear him to us, and encourage us to take him as our Great-heart through the Valley of Humiliation) that it is "a bourne from which the few travellers who venture at all usually return as quickly as possible".

In an age, says Professor Sutherland, "in which poetry had come more and more to deal with public concerns, it had become less easy to express the inner and private life of the spirit". Milton, Traherne and the later Vaughan were in this age but not of it, and they are treated in another volume of the *O.H.E.L.* And so, in the short section on poetry, we are shown how Dryden "transcended his poetical contemporaries in almost every kind that he attempted". It is certain that neither Professor Sutherland nor anyone else would nowadays subscribe to Arnold's view that the poetry of Dryden was conceived and composed in the wits, whereas "genuine" poetry is composed in "the soul"; and that Dryden and his school never show us objects "in their truth and beauty". Nevertheless he does admit that it is not always easy (for instance in the *Heroick Stanzas*) to be sure when Dryden is "giving us his own thoughts" and when he is merely giving us "thoughts that might be thought about Cromwell". In *Absalom and Achitophel*

we have the necessary conditions for great satire: the writer really cares about the cause he is asserting, but is not so personally involved in the events as to have lost control of his temper.

Yet Professor Sutherland can speak of the minor tragic drama of the period as "a bourne from which the few travellers who venture at all usually return as quickly as possible". In an age, says Professor Sutherland, "in which poetry had come more and more to deal with public concerns, it had become less easy to express the inner and private life of the spirit". Milton, Traherne and the later Vaughan were in this age but not of it, and they are treated in another volume of the *O.H.E.L.* And so, in the short section on poetry, we are shown how Dryden "transcended his poetical contemporaries in almost every kind that he attempted". It is certain that neither Professor Sutherland nor anyone else would nowadays subscribe to Arnold's view that the poetry of Dryden was conceived and composed in the wits, whereas "genuine" poetry is composed in "the soul"; and that Dryden and his school never show us objects "in their truth and beauty". Nevertheless he does admit that it is not always easy (for instance in the *Heroick Stanzas*) to be sure when Dryden is "giving us his own thoughts" and when he is merely giving us "thoughts that might be thought about Cromwell". In *Absalom and Achitophel*



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HODDER & STOUGHTON

Every Concretive Human Understanding. The thing to be said about Professor Sutherland's book therefore is, not that he has given "literature" a disproportionate preponderance (this was his job), but that he has managed to say so much, and to say it so well, about the intellectual background.

Professor Sutherland would surely agree that *Paradise Lost*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Principia*, *The True Intellectual System* and *Human Understanding* matter far more in the long run than all the *Plain Dealers* and *Country Wives* put together. From many an aside, as well as from his whole tone, it is clear that he is an *homme sérieux*, and one may suspect that much of the reading he has had to do for this book may have been as great a penance to him as "monkish chronicles" were to Bishop Burnet: "If anyone that has more Patience than I", said his lordship, "can think it worth while to search into that Rubbish, let him . . . have the Glory of it for his Pains." Indeed, his inmost self peeps out (and delightfully) when, speaking of *Grace Abounding*, he says "there is as much knowledge of the human heart and the human mind in Bunyan as we meet with in the whole body of Restoration drama". Of course there is (and it supports Professor Knights's judgment), but it is not every literary historian who would admit it.

Professor Sutherland's pages on Bunyan, and on the religious literature in general, are among the best in the book. He sees clearly, and sets forth brilliantly, the central problem that Bunyan presents to the modern reader: his "tremendous impact on the reader is largely due", he says, "to his utter devotion to the business in hand".

God did not play in convincing of me; the Devil did not play in tempting of me; neither did I play when I sunk as into a bottomless pit, when *the pangs of hell caught hold upon me*; wherefore I may not play in my relating of them, but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was

Yes; but what if all this power is deployed in the interest of a set of beliefs which are now quite unacceptable? What if Bunyan must be looked upon as "only a misguided enthusiast"? Well, we know now that it is possible to respond imaginatively to writers whose beliefs we reject: were it not so, half the best in literature would be shut off from us. One may perhaps go farther and say that Bunyan's harsh Calvinism reaches down to the realities of spiritual experience at a level unvisited by the rational piety then being recommended by the Establishment. One may suspend disbelief in the imagery. but Apollyon and the Valley of the Shadow of Death also stand (unfortunately, no doubt) for something terribly real. It is the same (to a lesser degree) with George Fox: what

Bishop or Court-divine of the Restoration ever knew enough about the bliss of forgiveness to make this statement:

All things were new; and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter . . . I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness.

But of course the master-current of the age was running strongly in the opposite direction. Fanaticism and violence had had their day, and Samuel Butler voiced the prevailing mood when he called "inner light"

a *dark-Lanthorn* of the Spirit
Which none see by but those that bear it.

All the official voices - Glanvill, the Cambridge Platonists, South, Tillotson, Locke—now spoke up for "right reason" as the principle of light and reconciliation: the "candle of the Lord" instead of the old dark lantern. As Glanvill said, the divines of the new age set themselves to check the "Extravagancies of Fansie" by "*vindicating* and *asserting* the use of *Reason* in *Religion*; . . . to maintain the sober use of our Faculties, and to expose all vain Enthusiasms". And so the high-road into the Deism and Socinianism of the next century was made smooth.

Space forbids as full a notice of the chapters on philosophy, politics and science as they deserve. Professor Sutherland picks his way through these extraterritorial regions with tact and insight, confining himself for instance - in his treatment of Locke to the philosopher's style, once of influence: "Truth and good are triumph at the expense of "a of fine fabling". He salutes proper distance, the Royal Sprat, Newton, Boyle, Hooke, Evelyn, Thomas Burnet and saying just enough about place them and stimulate interest.

After these ambitious Professor Sutherland returns ground in his final chapter, ism: and here again, of Dryden is in the ascendant. sions on heroic plays or the neo-classicism may seem an climax after what has gone Professor Sutherland's lively holds our attention to the singles out the best of Dryden's sights

those things which delight all have been an imitation of Nature,

or

pleas'd with the Image, without cozen'd by the Fiction

and sums up Dryden's and influence thus:

He fertilized the whole field of letters in his own day by constantly ing over the soil, and he establish habit of urbane and unpedantic about books and authors which certain notorious exceptions, tinued to be the main English

Of the book as a whole it can hesitatingly be said: a difficult most successfully accomplished.

To the Editor

"English"—unrest and continuity

Sir,—I have always tried to keep controversy on literary matters on a level of courteous and reasonable discourse, but it really is hard to remain unruffled after Dr. Leavis's gratuitous assault on myself in the lecture which you printed on May 29. This assault has nothing to do with any rational difference of opinion between us: Dr. Leavis does not say where he differs from my view of literature at the universities as expressed, say, in my chapter on English studies in *The Idea of a New University*. The reason for his attack is that I have in the past publicly expressed views which are mildly critical of Dr. Leavis's position. That is why I am classed with the enemy and consigned to the outer darkness of the Sunday supplements (for which I have never written and which, evidently unlike Dr. Leavis, I do not read). As for my having "solemnly mimed" a question about the value of literature as a civilizing force, it is typical of Dr. Leavis's hysteria that he uses such a phrase instead of the more rational "seriously raised". And of course he does not answer the question at all, but merely uses rather obvious rhetorical tricks to try to make the question appear impertinent. I must say that Dr. Leavis's own behaviour is no testimony to the humanizing effects of the discriminating study of literature.

DAVID DAICHES.
University of Sussex.

Sir,—How strange that Dr. F. R. Leavis should see fit to invoke my lightweight name in a discussion as serious as one on the future of English in universities: a subject which he claims as the most important preoccupation of our time. I cannot see why he needs to dress so weighty an argument with topical references. I cannot perhaps blame him for reading book jackets and newspaper interviews, but I must take this opportunity, if I may, of stating that I did not get a first at Cambridge on no work at all (as he implies) because I was journalistically gifted. I find the idea an insult to three years of very hard work. It is true that in Cambridge itself I did little (though even there, more than most, he will be sorry to hear) but then what are vacations for? A canny investment in odds and ends may well get an undergraduate a first, but that's not how I came about it, nor would I have wanted to, as I have always liked work and had a passion for my subject. The mistake is not entirely his fault, as I was myself quite eager, nine years ago, to repudiate those three years of work; but I would like to make the facts clear here.

The position of the would-be creative writer (and there are bound to be many of them) in an English school is not particularly comfortable: equipped, as most of them are, with excellent critical faculties, and terrified by the rightly upheld standards and examples of the past (and how quickly the past recedes where are Eliot and Lawrence now?), where are they to turn? Alarmed by the dismal prospect of becoming a minor writer, a paralysis sets in; writing seems the last thing possible, the only thing desirable. I didn't know what to do about this myself and couldn't write at all while an undergraduate, so I jumped through the academic hoops instead. But I don't know if this is right. I wonder if Dr. Leavis has views on how writers—even minor writers, for at eighteen they are not to know- should educate themselves? I think about this often but arrive at no conclusions. Perhaps the idea of writing is so irrelevant to the idea of an English school that the question is inappropriate in this context.

MARGARET DRABBLE.
24 Heath Hurst Road, London, N.W.3.

Sir,—Dr. Leavis's address (May 29) to the University of Wales Colloquium on English, which you reproduce verbatim on your opening pages, gives those of us, who, like myself, admire Dr. Leavis's work but have felt increasingly of late years that his general social and cultural thinking does not show the proper operation of that, disinterested but morally engaged intelligence which he sees it as the function of English studies to promote, an opportunity to state our dissatisfaction in a relevant way.

For in his latest address Dr. Leavis has been more specific in describing those aspects of modern civilization which trouble him than to the best of my knowledge he has ever been before. And I can't help feeling that in doing so he has in however mild a way exemplified the significance of the reservations voiced by George Steiner and Professor Daiches as to whether the study of literature even if properly conducted is necessarily a comprehensively civilizing process. That Dr. Leavis should assume that the voicing of such a doubt by Dr. Steiner and Professor Daiches is itself a sign of the unseriousness of them both rather than a deeply significant challenge is itself revealingly ironical.

Let me state what I mean as briefly as possible. Dr. Leavis begins his lecture by presenting student unrest as purely anarchical and destructive—destructive among other things of what he considers to be the traditional role of the university. In a purely English context—though no real consideration can be confined to it—this is perhaps a plausible if superficial view: in this country much student unrest has been confused and confusing, though even here one would have expected a disinterested intelligence to be more discriminating. For it is clear that in the United States (and here too to a much lesser extent) what many of the students are challenging is the way in which the university can subserve inhuman "social goals: C.B.W. and weapons research, industrial capitalism, and racialism." It is these, indeed, which represent in their most extreme form that dehumanization of our civilization with which in a way that has always seemed to me to be too vague and general Dr. Leavis has himself always been concerned.

But is it not only that Dr. Leavis does emphases of the students are related to his own (some may conceivably have been influenced by him), he emerges in the depressing conclusion to his address as an upholder of the kind of thinking to which the students are inimical and which contradicts the implications of his own general emphases. "And that America", says Dr. Leavis, "is *not* less strong than Russia seems to me distinctly a matter for self congratulation on our part." Now "strong" here, as the context makes abundantly plain, must include, even give a special emphasis to military strength, and the statement represents, considering the inhuman assumptions behind such strength, that discontinuity of consciousness which Dr. Steiner and Professor Daiches are so afraid of. Further it is the pursuit of this strength that in the United States has led to that social deformation of many universities and their association with an active process of dehumanization which the best of the student radicals so vigorously oppose and which Dr. Leavis himself, though with a difference of emphasis, also opposes.

There is a serious muddle here: it is the kind of muddle which I suggest should lead Dr. Leavis to be a little less extreme in his claims as to what an English education can give even at its best. The parallel with Matthew Arnold is instructive too: in the first part of *Culture and Anarchy* he makes high claims for the civilizing function of culture; in the second he shows that it had done little to make him question the conventional view of his class and time in relation to contemporary social problems.

MALCOLM PITTOCK.
Department of English, University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen.

Sir,—Having just perused F. R Leavis's "English"—unrest and continuity" (May 29), I was interested to find some correlation between the way in which Dr. Leavis conceives university English and the way in which English is approached at the University of Stirling.

The correlation proves particularly interesting as Stirling is a Robbins instigated establishment, and while it cannot be termed "Americanized" it has certainly adopted some American traits in its course structure. It seems to me, after reading his address, that Dr. Leavis would consider Stirling the last place in which his "formula" for English could be carried out. Fortunately Stirling has other proportions apart from Robbinization and Americanization: being established in 1967 it is young and it is not (yet) tied by tradition and convention. It has, also, a very manageable number of students (about 250 undergradustes) and there is a very strong staff/student relationship. With these ingredients we are developing what Dr. Leavis calls "liaison".

Here knowledge is not "communicated to" the English student, it is allowed to grow and develop as he discusses and explores his own limitations as a critic. As a student finishing my fourth Semester I have now realized that English Literature is a "potent living reality". After experiencing in the first two years some interest in Sociology, Psychology and History apart from my English studies I am now able to approach English as a vital part of existence.

have been able to transcend depa tal boundaries and also receive per and individual consideration whic created a type of "cultural confli Because of the energy that is poured into Stirling in order to m it a success everyone concerned wi the university as a compreh "whole".

We must remember that Stirli the moment is small—when 3,000 students instead of 300 w tremendous potential alive now c erate into apathy, or will the Rob utopia be able to withstand expa sion?

It would be a tragedy if Englis it is at Stirling in 1969 were allow die by 1979.

PATRICIA M. WATSO
20 Roman Road, Rearsden, Gla

The Rules of Ch

Sir, Your reviewer of *The of Chaos* (May 22) claims the author confines his "sa such supposedly revealing p tions as the fact "that som he hits the wrong typewriter ke I mention in a quite different con illustrate the fallibility of even matter-of-course assumptions th that "I write in longhand . . . and never touch a typewriter", it seem fair as well as inept to accuse me o nonsense. It is also asserted that the Italians for their natural cha tics and instinct for civilization, velli, one faintly recalls, drew a picture at a time when the local ties were running their own sho don't subscribe to any theory of churacteristics or instincts, and Stendhal's description of the be of the Milanese under Austrian tion to illustrate the rather-more ing proposition that "Only the Survive". What Machiavelli about his contemporaries in a historical situation bears no rele what I'm saying about the defeatis reviewer further claims that "essentially" saying is that universal adoption of a particular about the nature of existence chaotic—would stop men trying pose deadly frameworks on life idiotic notions as the possibility universal adoption", of co of perception are entirely viewer's property. Moreover, part of my book is to ex why it is psychologically and tually inescapable that we attempt to impose order on life when your reviewer quotes me so only to go on putting into my words that I would never diff quoting my "Bigness is weakness asks, "But does not smallness stability only when . . . ?" never dream of claiming stabi smallness, "when" or and spend some time (in which the rule that "You're Free and bringe to You") describing stability of even the smallest societies, that is, families and My point is that bigness aggrava ruptive tendencies, not that it them.

These are only a few exam your reviewer's method of behavi book by inventing foolish notio people always seemed to me to be too then taking me to task for them. all fairness, I must say he is not Different critics have, similarly

they also beg to be confuted, and the reader is placed under no obligation by the book's sketchy development to search for sense by weighing one absurd statement against the opposing absurd statement when he can just as easily and much more usefully call them both absurd. It seems to me quite plain that the whole drift (what drift is hard of Mr. Vizinczey's book is that destructively inflexible modes of thought need to be replaced by modes of thought more in tune with the unpredictability of events. Even on the level of volition, I do not see how it can be contested that he is *recommending* this: let alone the further consideration that most political analysis, if it is penetrating at all, is in some way a recommendation of action.

If I were Mr. Vizinczey, I would take the unanimity of the "different critics [who] have simultaneously and groundlessly reproved me for . . . mutually exclusive absurdities" as an indication that the reproofs might have some grounds, in the style and organization of his book if not in his mind. Beyond that, one is not interested in hearing that some dunce of a reviewer suggested Mr. Vizinczey thinks our "present state is as bad as death". That Mr. Vizinczey loves life should be obvious. But it is equally obvious that *The Rules of Chaos* has little of the philosophical limpidity claimed for it in his letter: "observations" are all too apparently selected and governed by a set of "likes and dislikes" which irrelevantly happen to be nice.

The Bishop's riddle

Sir, Another answer (May 15) is MOAT:

(1) Breakwater. Then harbour so enclosed,

(2) Death of William III.

(3) The mole-hill and the mole. Mole as blemish. Mole as unclean meat (Leviticus).

(4) For the mole, to be *above* ground

is to be "in the dark"; out of its element in the Ark.

(5) "Weight" as earth displaced: "length" as distance it can travel. The boast of our isle: Me.

CHRISTOPHER and KIRSTIN RICKS.
134 Queens Road, Bristol 8.

Santayana

Sir, The recent discussion of Santayana, especially of his attitude toward Emerson, recalled my taking his course in Modern Philosophy at Harvard in 1909. His uniform procedure was to give a fair, clear and comprehensive view of each philosopher, and to save his personal critique for other occasions. The lecture on Emerson, as a Transcendentalist, he gave in lieu of one on Schelling. It was objective, impersonal, not ironic.

EDGAR C. KNOWLTON.
Wisconsin State University, La Crosse, Wisconsin.

Sir,—Your reviewer is out of sympathy with Santayana, and I am content to rest the matter there. But one of the charges he makes, or rather renews, in his reply to Mr. Strickland's and my letters of May 22 appears to be factually incorrect. He says that he is "certainly perplexed by . . . a writer [i.e., Santayana] who uses 'prurient' to mean hypocritical or fraudulent" and that he feels other people "ought to be too". He does not identify the passage where this word is thus misused, but I believe he is referring to an extract from *Reason in Art* (Vol. I, p. 264, of my version for the Cambridge University Press). Santayana writes:

> Thus the literature that calls itself purely aesthetic is in truth prurient; without this half-avowed weakness to play upon, the coloured images evoked would have nothing to marshal or to sustain them . . .

The context, I suggest, makes plain that Santayana is using "prurient" in its orthodox sense. He wrote *Reason in Art* in 1905 and could depend on his readers having a working acquaintance with the ethos of the *Yellow Book* and of Aubrey Beardsley. I felt he might depend on it still. Had I realized a reviewer in the *TLS* would so mistake the reference that he would interpret "prurient" as "hypocritical or fraudulent", and then indict Santayana for slack usage, I would certainly have introduced a note.

N. V. HENFREY.
Université Laval, Faculté des Lettres, Québec, Canada.

International Book Export Group

Sir,—For a bookseller, the double-page advertisement by I.B.E.G. (May 29) announcing the June-September publications of Cornell, California and Johns Hopkins university presses, is the last straw.

Books of these presses have previously been distributed most efficiently by the Oxford University Press, who circulated details late in March of a change in representation to I.B.E.G. to take effect on April 1. My letter to I.B.E.G. asking for regular catalogues, announcements, &c., was returned by the Post Office marked "not known at this address" and strong representations to O.U.P. were needed to get the letter forwarded. A bland announcement in the *Bookseller* (May 10) spoke of difficulties over negotiations for the lease of premises by I.B.E.G. and said that no orders would be handled for "about three to four weeks", implying a hiatus of some three months between the end of O.U.P. distribution and the beginning of I.B.E.G. "service". I am told by O.U.P. that their stock of currently available titles has been handed over to I.B.E.G. who are apparently holding it incommunicado and who have never apparently heard of temporary office accommodation. Letters to the Managing Director of I.B.E.G. and (by air) to the President of Cornell University Press have gone unanswered. Orders to I.B.E.G. for published titles, marked "urgent", produce no books nor are they even acknowledged.

This episode is just one more chapter in the woeful story of book distribution in Britain—a story of gloom punctuated by only occasional rays of light from a few publishers' warehouses.

JOHN MAY.
May and May, 5 Hotham Road, London, S.W.15.

Inventing the past

Sir,—In his generous notice of our reprint of *Printing Patent Abridgements 1617-1857* (May 22) your reviewer regrets our decision "to omit the eight-page section which followed page 632 in the original". In case your readers may think that we have omitted an integral part of the original volume, I should point out that the "eight-page section" follows the printer's imprint in the original volume when found in its original boards, and is often discarded in binding. It consists of an Advertisement (so headed), common to other volumes in the series, listing the publications of the Patent Office.

No doubt it would have been of some interest to have included this piece, but perhaps we may be allowed to add, since your reviewer does not, we feel that we have performed a more useful service by including in our reprint the sixty pages of additional abridgements omitted from the original volume and published as a supplement to the later volume covering the years 1858-96, where they are easily overlooked.

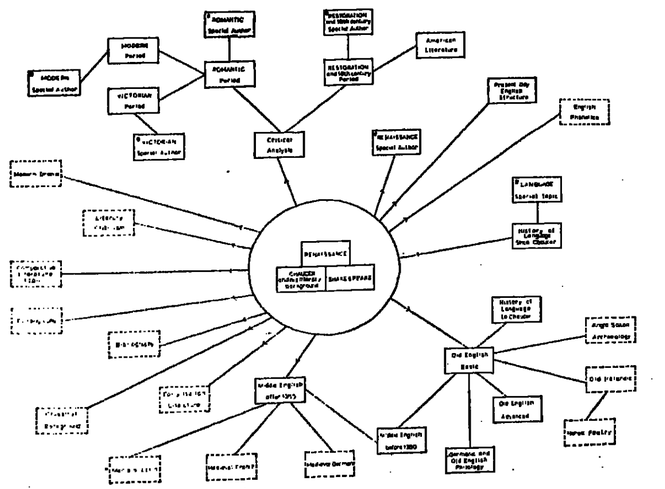
This, incidentally, brings the number of pages in our reprint to 722, not 372 as the heading to your review states.

DAVID CHAMBERS.
Printing Historical Society, St. Bride Institute, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Muse in change

By Frank Kermode and Randolph Quirk

NOTES ON THE NEW ENGLISH SYLLABUS AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON



We have MAIN courses in English at University College which is foundation in 1828, is longer than at any university in England, and has been taught by such as Masson, Chambers, etc. Over the years there has been, throughout the University College, a pattern of study with strong philological and medieval bias. Although it has changed, it has changed radically; yet no one with intelligent understanding of such matters will suppose that there is the pattern of their study today. That there was much that was good will be accepted, and any new one must be set to throw it away. On the other hand the need for a more critical appraisal of the objects and methods of the course had grown urgent. To undertake it was by no means to comply with merely passing pressures or to overcome demand for "relevance". Rather it was a necessary response to great modern transformation in Studies, which are no longer to be thought of us a mere versity substitute for classics.

The Saunders Report paved the way for any college of the university to establish, given the university approval, its own programmes of study. The machinery by which these were proposed at University College is in itself an interesting indication of the change of style imposed by the passage of time. There was, in the earliest moment, full consultation between the heads of departments and their colleagues, and their proposals, having established certain basic principles, and ascertained that they were acceptable, a sub-committee worked for more than a year on a series of drafts for syllabus and examination procedures. These were then scrutinized by the whole academic staff/student consultative committee, and at general departmental meetings open to all students, undergraduate and graduate, as well as staff. Only when all these had been satisfied, well-nigh everyone had been produced, we proceeded to test feeling outside the department: and the full proposal in this form received ready approval at all points in the hierarchy, of both college and university.

The basic idea is simple.

Our resources in the University College Department of English are rich enough to provide a wide range of courses. But our resources are not limitless: the department: they are backed and amplified by the variety and strength of the other English Departments in the University of London. We therefore begin with the assumption that we can

second consideration is to prevent a *wild* range of choices. Our third is to envisage the English discipline as having a firm central core, from which all options range and to which all are connected. Our fourth point is to ensure that sufficient variety of testing and assessment is available to meet the requirements of different types of course and the needs of individual students.

In the diagram can be seen at one and the same time the range of courses we are ready to offer at present; the central core of three; and the contingent choices the student makes as he radiates out from this core. For to get from the core to any

low the path marked and do any courses that intervene. He offers 10 courses altogether (including the central three); he must offer one (but may not offer more than two) of the asterisked courses—special studies in depth; and he may not offer more than three of the courses in dotted frames, since we do not believe that a student can successfully integrate with his English discipline more than three options of this particular type.

It will be noticed, nevertheless, that the possible options permit a considerable concentration of interest in a variety of fields, though all these concentrations would be acceptable as relevant to the traditional concerns of the English School as they have evolved in the past generation. A confidence that these concerns remain appropriate to a modern honours school informed our discussion; which is why we speak of radical, not revolutionary change.

As to examinations, it may be that our scheme will appear more controversial; but it has won approval as closer than the old to that justice which examinations can anyway only aspire to. Examining that "counts" for the class of honours is spread over the last twelve months of the student's undergraduate career. During this period he writes "extended essays" for his asterisked course or courses, sits six-hour papers (during which he may consult texts) for his Chaucer, Shakespeare and (if he has selected it) critical analysis; and three-hour papers for the remainder. But in addition the department's assessment will be taken into account and the candidate will submit some of the essays he has done during his studies so that the external examiners can see the kind of work on which the department has based this assessment.

We should not care to repeat the experience of remodelling the programme at any early date, nor are we at all dissatisfied with the one we now have. But we are not under the illusion that this new structure can avoid the fate of the old: it will suffer the unimaginable touch of time and, sooner or later, decline like its predecessor into obsolescence. And, to take a shorter view, we expect to have to make smaller changes as we learn from experience; we hope so to have designed the system that such changes may be made in response to needs as they become evident without that threat to the entire structure which was always present when modifications were proposed to the old syllabus.

Frank Kermode is Lord Northcliffe Professor of Modern English Literature at University College, and Randolph Quirk is Quain Professor of English Language and Literature.

Houses and gardens of the South

Great Houses of Italy. Preface by Jean Cocteau. Translated by Arnold Rosin, 300pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £8 8s.

MAURICE ROWDON: *The Companion Guide to Umbria.* 383pp. Collins. 42s.

Since Edith Wharton's *Italian Villas and their Gardens* (1904), illustrated by Maxfield Parrish and dedicated to Vernon Lee, who, "better than anyone else, has understood and interpreted the garden-magic of Italy", there have been numerous books both large and small on the subject but they have seldom been accompanied by adequate illustrations. Vernon Lee is undeservedly neglected; and though Maxfield Parrish is treated as a figure of fun by modern illustrators he succeeded in capturing the Italian light far better than most coloured photographs. Lovers of Italian gardens had to wait until the publication of Miss Georgina Masson's two splendid volumes, *Italian Villas and Palaces* (1959) and *Italian Gardens* (1961) for a satisfactory record of the supreme garden-art of Italy, so perfectly adapted to the surrounding landscape. This is mainly due to the great progress of photography.

The most recent book on the subject, *Great Houses of Italy*, with a preface by M. Jean Giono of the Académie Goncourt and a team of distinguished photographers including Miss Masson, the text translated from the French, excels all the previous publications we have seen. The forty villas and palaces selected for our enjoyment are truly representative of the finest Italy has to offer from Piedmont to Sicily, and the illustrations, 68 in colour and 235 in black-and-white, are as faithful to the originals as it is possible to be. We might even claim without exaggeration that they possess Bernard Berenson's "tactile values". These columns, statues, fountains, trees, we feel their very texture. In almost every example the composition and perspective are ideal. Hitherto black-and-white illustrations, have been truer to actuality, but in this case the colour illustrations convey the coolness of water gushing from fountains, the peeling plaster of walls, the lichen on carved balustrades, the creeping shadows of trees, with an effect that recovers their enchantment.

The various superintendents of Italian monuments and museums and the owners of the private houses and gardens reproduced should be gratified with the result of their cooperation in this instance, for the immediate reaction on opening this volume will surely be a desire to catch the next plane or train to Italy. Each garden is visible from its best point of vantage and the interiors of houses—notably Tiepolo's frescoes at Villa Valmarana dei Nani and Mantegna's "Camera degli Sposi" at Mantua—are scrupulously accurate: you may slide along the maiolica floor of the fantastic rococo ballroom in the Palazzo Gangi and turn on the tap of Queen Maria Carolina's bedroom at Caserta. The individual atmosphere of each place is vividly communicated.

The text was bound to be inferior to such superb illustrations: though chatty and informative it reeks of the average tourist brochure. M. Jean Giono's preface may sound eloquent in French: in English translation it becomes gaseous and makes little sense. "A roof is worth only what the heart is worth. Beauty was once the principal requirement, the peristyle was built before the sanitary block, for the hygiene of the soul." And in a preceding sentence he writes of "that Italian *virtù* which is a voluptuousness of the soul". This is what Norman Douglas would describe as "head-work, self-conscious glitter, a virtuosity bordering on the precious". Some readers may be edified by it, but Edith Wharton's essay on Italian gardenmagic was more luminous. She pointed out that "the Italian garden does not exist for its flowers: its flowers exist for it: they are a late and infrequent adjunct to its beauties. . .". This was partly due to the climate, hence "a wonderful development of the more permanent effects to be obtained from the three other factors in garden-composition—marble, water and perennial verdure—and the achievement, by their skilful blending, of a charm independent of the seasons".

Great Houses of Italy is a bargain for eight guineas. It was printed in Switzerland. English printers must look to their laurels.

In the chapter on the ducal palace of Urbino, Piero della Francesca's picture of Battista Sforza in a chariot drawn by unicorns through a typical Umbrian landscape is reproduced, and it is a landscape of singular charm. Collins have now added Umbria to their excellent series of "Companion Guides", portable, practical, and packed with information. The author's task was not easy, for though Umbria is fairly homogeneous it is essentially a land of saints and mystics and Mr. Maurice Rowdon constantly reveals an anti-Catholic bias. In his opinion "happiness was not a legacy of Rome", but surely it was a legacy of St. Francis of Assisi. Why should not St. Clare be made the patron saint of television? Mr. Rowdon considers this idiotic.

He despises that jewel of Renaissance architecture the Temple of Consolation near Todi, which he says "sticks out like a sore thumb". And one suspects that he dislikes the frescoes he describes, without comment, such as Signorelli's powerful cycle at Orvieto. He is painstaking and conscientious but too often lacking in sympathy with the *genius loci*. Umbria is remarkable for its resistance to the Renaissance spirit, burgeoning in the rest of Italy, and in painting religious sentiment increased simultaneously with the pagan influence spreading outside it. To appreciate Assisi one must love St. Francis and study the *Fioretti*. The lovely little town of Cascia among the mountains is renowned for St. Rita and the Blessed Simone; Norcia as the birthplace of St. Benedict, for the pious troubadour Cola dell Amatrice, for the prosciutto and pone. The prevalent Communism never extirpate the beneficent influence of these holy people.

Since Perugia contains a University for Foreigners, it is thousand of whom arrive to learn Italian, it is the best of Umbrian cities, but Mr. Rowdon's itinerary and map will save much trouble when he wants to get about on foot through its narrow streets on the whole his comments are curious, as when he remarks that Assisi gives that "he has a way of life to paint the air: as if he knew the air felt like, how hot and heavy, and what colour", though might have said more about Assisi di Duccio's exquisite bas-reliefs the façade of the Oratory of San Bernardino, and one wonders what means when he complains that Perugia "suffered greatly from baroque period". And it is difficult to read that "we have a first class of baroque art" in Florence. Lorenzo who, as Berenson says, "was formed under the influence of Benozzo Gozzoli, of Antonio Pollaiolo, and especially of Verrocchio" his dates were 1440-1521. Though Mr. Rowdon does help the visitor find whatever he seeks, and this chief virtue of a guide-book, the appendix provides useful information about places to eat. Though truffles of Norcia in season are delicious and the lake fish of Trasimeno are often succulent, the pleasures of Umbria are more spiritual and aesthetic than gastronomical.

Motifs

Greek Ornament. Translated by Patrick Connell, 127pp. Batsford. 30s.

Greek Ornament is a very attractive book. It originated, as Mr. Connell's brief introduction explains, as a pattern book of decorative motifs for craftsmen, prepared by the National Organization of Greek Handicraft. The English edition claims to provide a rich source of inspiration to all in the English-speaking world, "who—as professionals or amateurs—work in embroidery, textile designs, woodcarving, pottery, metal-craft, and so on".

This kind of pattern book is often supposed to have been available to ancient craftsmen, and it would be interesting for students of the classical world to see the work of some modern craftsmen who have derived inspiration from this book. The motifs are taken from objects ranging in time from the Cycladic Bronze Age to modern textiles and woodcarvings. The line drawings illustrate single motifs and the black-and-white illustrations serve to show the kinds of objects from which they were taken. The latter are very necessary, both to show how the motifs were applied, and also to correct the inconsistencies and varying quality of the drawings.

These drawings are never guilty of falsification or deliberate cleaning up, but the illustrators are not always completely successful in conveying the character of the original. The strong black-and-white patterns taken from prehistoric pottery are very convincing and the drawings of Mycenaean and Minoan designs give a good impression of the fine decorative sense of the originals. On the other hand, the same strong style applied to the detail of delicate goldwork is confusing and false. Curiously, the drawings of pottery shapes are nervous and fussy. In many ways the fine linear style used for the Byzantine patterns is the most successful, and this may be partly because the motifs are not shown in isolation, but it is always worth referring back to the black-and-white illustrations for the contexts of the motifs.

Because it is so difficult to convey in a single medium the richness and variety of designs created for so many different media, one wonders whether this book could ever be a genuine source of inspiration to a creative craftsman, but it is certainly an attractive book to look at and offers a fascinating range of interesting decorative designs.

Factory porcelain and a faïence painter

GEOFFREY A. GODDEN: *Minton Pottery and Porcelain of the First Period, 1793-1850.* 168pp. Herbert Jenkins. £7 7s.

STANLEY W. FISHER: *Worcester Porcelain.* 96pp. Ward Lock. 25s.

W. L. LITTLE: *Staffordshire Blue.* 160pp. Batsford. £2 10s.

A. VECHT: *Frederik van Frytom, 1632-1702.* 104pp. Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema. Dfl. 47.

Mr. Godden has put us in his debt again. He has addressed himself to the study of Mintons—his early love—and has looked where nobody had apparently looked before, in the firm's own archives. He has there discovered many design books and pattern books: important discoveries, which tell us more about early nineteenth-century china. Old mistakes are revealed, new fields of information are opened, new precision of dating is established. Let us applaud the briskness of his research: though some of these discoveries are adumbrated in his *Encyclopaedia of Marks* (1964) and his *Illustrated Encyclopaedia* (1966), there is no hint of them in his *British Pottery and Porcelain, 1780-1850* (1963).

His study of the factory is designed for two volumes. This, the first, takes us up to 1850. His presentation of his new material is sensible and thorough. An initial general survey, which tidies up a few dates and sketches the commercial history of the firm, is followed by a chapter on marks. Then follow chapters devoted to useful wares, ornamental wares, and figures; and brief biographies of the principal artists, designers and modellers. Appendixes give details of trading with Richard Egan (a chinaseller in Bath), Wedgwoods, and Chamberlains; a breakdown of the staff employed in 1831; and selected copyletters of 1836-40 and 1848—from the ledgers of which he has extracted (happy thought) details of the firms which supplied Mintons with all their raw materials (bones, borax, soft soap, wood for boxes, &c.).

There is food for thought in these appendixes. Do we know enough about the trading outlets of pottery firms of any period, or to what extent even leading concerns like Wedgwoods were ready to retail other manufacturers' products? Do we yet know enough about the Mortlocks and other London getailers who were apparently so powerful that Herbert Minton was frightened at putting a factory-mark on his wares, lest these middlemen should take offence? The weekly wages bill in 1831 amounted to £387 9s. 8d.—for a staff which (including women, children, part-timers and all sorts of odd hands) numbered more than 700.

The principal value of this book lies, however, in the revelations of the pattern numbers on the useful wares, and the detailed and factory-authenticated lists of the ornaments and figures which Mintons produced during the years under consideration—and very many of the original drawings for these last are reproduced alongside photographs of the objects themselves. These lists give us as complete a picture of a great factory's output as could be wished: and because many of them are fairly closely datable, they plot with some precision the evolution of fashionable taste. They also reveal for the first time the variety of the wares, correcting former attributions to such widely differing factories as Pinxton, New Hall, Spode, Rockingham, Coalport, and even Swansea.

Following precedents established long before at Meissen and Sèvres, Mintons christened some of their shapes and designs with trade names. These are sometimes aristocratic, such as "Clarence" and "Talbot" and "Wellington", or commemorative. Flaxman would have been surprised at the overblown rococo shape of the vase named in his honour. "Dresden" seems basically to have meant something encrusted (and given the Meissen mark), and "Sèvres" a piece of straight copying—an activity which Sèvres itself seems to have been perfectly happy about. But the copying of Sèvres, and the overriding French influence in general, will no doubt loom much larger in Mr. Godden's second volume.

Mr. Godden has also announced the preparation of a book on Worcester and Caughley porcelain. Meanwhile, Mr. Stanley Fisher has produced a modest addition to the already extensive literature on part of this subject, in his *Worcester Porcelain*, in the "Collectors' Monographs" series. He covers the long period of 1750 to 1947 in brief review and about 100 photographs. Recent excavations at Worcester have slightly altered our understanding of the relationship between Worcester and Caughley—a matter of more importance to the inexpert collector than Mr. Fisher perhaps allows—but his book will serve as a useful introduction.

Mr. Little's theme in *Staffordshire Blue* is not one factory, but a commercial phenomenon: the spate of blue-printed earthenware produced during the first half of the nineteenth century by the potters of Staffordshire and elsewhere. It was a peculiarly British product, made mainly for the middle-class market at home but also exported in bulk to the Continent and to North and South America. We know it well, but Mr. Little's is the first book to be devoted to it. He describes the invention and development of the process, the subject-matter and sources of the engravings, and the marking of the wares, and goes on to give very extensive lists of the potters and artists concerned, arranged alphabetically and by districts. These wares are varied, and still common and cheap enough to attract the collector of modest wealth, and for such a person this book will surely prove indispensible.

The 119 illustrations are somewhat disappointing. No doubt the process of decoration makes reproduction difficult, but in the black-and-white plates much of the detail of the engraving is lost, and the finesse of the originals vanishes. This is strikingly demonstrated by a comparison of the pictures of the dish which is reproduced in blue on the dust-cover and in black and white in the plates. The latter, though larger, has lost all of the sharpness and charm of the former. And these relatively humble, mass-produced objects do possess authentic charm. Future generations will no doubt find in their romantic subject-matter and weird incongruities, evidence of a fantasy which we do not normally associate with the Industrial Revolution: they are the poor descendants of the grand *istoriati* wares of the Italian Renaissance.

Blue is of course the potters' colour *par excellence*. As Mr. Little says, it is the oldest known pigment used for ceramic decoration. Among European blue and white wares of all kinds, the earthenwares produced in the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century in Holland, and in Delft in particular, will always hold a foremost place. The late Mr. A. Vecht devoted years of research to the life and work of one of the finest of the Delft faïence painters, Frederik van Frytom. His son has completed the book which the father did not live to finish. The book has been published in an English translation which is well produced and translated, but suffers from some lapses in proof-reading.

There is no recent monograph in English on Delftware in general, properly so called. The subject is large and presents very difficult problems of factory-identification and dating. Van Frytom's work falls readers will be grateful for the detailed lifting of the curtain, though not because most of the work described is in foreign collections.

Van Frytom's work has been admired. His Dutch and Flemish scenes reflect the work of Berchem and of Both "all overlaid with azure moss and flowers"; in fact there is in an American collection an oil painting signed by which looks as if it could hold in any collection of Dutch pottery plaques and a jug, and these have been grouped some other pieces. Mr. Vecht and describes nearly all of cluding three which were destroyed Berlin during the Second World but overlooking one in the Museum which is illustrated over.

The piety of the editor the enthusiasm of the author some doubts are raised. In Mr. Vecht's delvings in the the artist remains a shadowy His relationship to his Guild of St. Luke, is obscure seems to have been an honoured practitioner, not bound factory. Mr. Vecht claims was a potter as well as a largely on the evidence of kiln-stilts, inscribed in the two more discursive Meister novels, the last pure colour, such as are seen of Vermeer's pictures. Some his arguments inconclusive. more, there are scholars who that many of the decorated here described were not van Frytom at all, but by some finer but unidentified artist in Haarlem—an opinion which Vecht does not mention. the exhibition planned by mans-van Beuningen Museum mark the publication of this help to elucidate this latter

Bertram Rota have published *Rhymes of Nonsense*—(£ limited facsimile edition of Edward Lear's many nonsense bets, with an introduction by Hofer. It is based on a written in about 1862 for Blencowe, who is believed to son of Robert Willis literary contemporary of Lear's alphabet is "clearly one of the according to Mr. Hofer, book is delightful, but it is a the facsimile has been reduced and that Lear's holograph have been replaced by

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[illegible] (Editor): *Racine.* Macmillan. £2 10s. [illegible] 21s.).

[illegible] SELLIOUT: *Le Vocabulaire biblique dans les tragédies sacrees de Racine.* 439pp. [illegible] Droz. 50Sw.fr.

[illegible] Knight says, a hundred [illegible] Racine would have had no [illegible] an English series of collected critical essays. *Racine* [illegible] now firmly his reputation as [illegible] now established outside [illegible] of the essays printed here [illegible] half come from England, [illegible] States, Switzerland and [illegible]. They are all pieces of criticism from periodicals or [illegible] entirely devoted to [illegible] some cases, notably those [illegible] Spoerri and Leo Spitzer, [illegible] important essays which had [illegible] usually inaccessible to the [illegible] reader of Racine.

[illegible] is divided into three sections. [illegible] come six general essays [illegible], then three predominantly [illegible] tudies, and finally five pieces [illegible] on more particular questions [illegible] individual plays. On the whole, [illegible] provide a fair cross-section of [illegible] critical writing about Racine, [illegible] certain characteristic [illegible] and weaknesses of our time. [illegible] main strength is perhaps devotion to the text. Almost all the [illegible] keep their attention firmly on [illegible] plays; they are concerned [illegible] to make Racine live for [illegible]. Their criticism is interpretative rather than evaluative; if [illegible] degree of value are expressed [illegible] without exception enthusiastic. [illegible] and it seems a pity that the [illegible] of intelligent dislike for [illegible] is nowhere hinted at; one [illegible] plea for the sort of harsh-[illegible] which makes English criticism [illegible] stimulating. The fact that [illegible] of these essays (not least the [illegible] postscript by Sir Maurice [illegible] is read rather like attempts to [illegible] those to an unwilling public [illegible] attributed to the fear that, being a classic, Racine may be thought a bore perhaps he has not recovered as completely as one would like to believe from the blast of Romantic contempt.

One aspect of this attempt to make Racine relevant is the heavy stress laid by some writers on dominant themes. Although Theophil Spoerri, John Lapp, Jean Starobinski and Georges Poulet all keep one eye on the text and quote freely from all of Racine's plays, what they are essentially doing is spelling out a subjective vision of these plays and their author. This is what one expects of the literary critic: one's only reservation concerns the frequently portentious manner in which the personal view is stated. M. Poulet is perhaps the worst offender here, although his essay on Racinian time is full of valuable insights.

What one misses most is an examination of the relation of Racine's plays to the society for which they were written. It is true that the work that has been done in this area would not have fitted easily into a collection of critical essays, but even so it is a pity that Racine is so rarely seen as a writer of *stage* plays, accepting or flouting the expectations of a particular public.

Lucien Goldmann, it is true, advocates a structuralist approach which would concentrate on the place occupied by works of literature in society, but his essay on Racine's tragic vision, even taken in conjunction which his book *Le Dieu caché*, does not seem to be more firmly based historically than any of the other essays and emerges in the end as an essentially personal interpretation. Professor Knight, in his useful and pleasantly written introduction, quotes Eugène Vinaver's warning about the "temptation to plunge a writer into his milieu until he vanishes in it", yet he quite rightly insists on the value of a historical approach. And, indeed, his own modest article on Racine and Greek tragedy is in its way more illuminating to the lover of Racine than some of the more pretentious critical pieces, though these may give more of a thrill to the newcomer.

M. Spillebout starts *Le Vocabulaire biblique dans les tragédies sacrees de Racine* with the startling assertion that "de tous les thèmes que la tradition littéraire propose à la réflexion des lettrés un des plus communs semble bien être celui de l'influence de la Bible sur l'oeuvre de Racine". The second paragraph quickly limits the field of vision to *Esther* and *Athalie*, and the rest of the introduction makes it clear that we are to be given a lexical study only.

The first section makes a statistical comparison between the two biblical plays and selected passages from Lemaistre de Sacy's translation of the Bible: this shows (not surprisingly) that "concrete" words in Racine's last two plays are more numerous than in his earlier plays, but less numerous than in the Bible. Next, two long sections deal with the vocabulary of *Esther* and *Athalie* under two main headings, God and religious life. In order to define the way in which Racine uses biblical words, the author takes for instance all the uses of "ciel" or "cieux" in these two tragedies and sets them against the way they are used in the Bible (now taking in the whole of the Bible and other versions besides that of Port-Royal). The conclusion is again very much as expected: Racine is faithful to biblical meaning but adapts to his time; since his faith is a living thing he does not need to use much local colour.

The book is written throughout with a sort of modest reverence. Presumably it is a *thèse d'Etat*, and a fine example of the genre in its purest form. In a way it could be seen as a very minor cause of student revolt: how could anyone have spent so long demonstrating the obvious in a country where students may be lucky to have a few words in passing with their teachers in the corridors? Yet like any old-fashioned thesis it has its fascination lying in the process rather than the results. Perhaps Borges is right when he sees in erudition a contemporary form of the fantastic.

ctive affinities

[illegible]: *Goethe's Novels.* [illegible] Macmillan. £3 15s.

[illegible] Goethe wrote four novels [illegible] *Wilhelm Meisters Lehr-* [illegible] *Wahlverwandtschaften.* [illegible] *Meisters Wanderjahre*—[illegible] thought of as a novelist. [illegible] studies of the novel [illegible] attention to his work. A [illegible] novels should therefore [illegible] though, written as they [illegible] very different periods of [illegible], they do not constitute a [illegible]-type. Professor Reiss [illegible] insists on their originality [illegible]. The tight-bound *Werther* [illegible] subtly patterned *Die [illegible]schaften*, unlike as [illegible] differ totally in intention and [illegible] from the two more discursive [illegible] *Meister* novels, the last [illegible] indeed, though it contains [illegible] Novelle insets, hardly has [illegible] Reiss acknowledges, a [illegible] novelistic form.

[illegible] question is, then, promising. [illegible] namely the execution in [illegible] novels is sadly disappointing. [illegible] perhaps because Professor [illegible] is only too aware of the mas-[illegible] which he lavished on these [illegible] and seems to have been too [illegible] to do justice to all sorts of [illegible] standpoints, so that we are [illegible] distracted from one con-[illegible] another and grope for a con-[illegible] clue. The plane of writing [illegible] too, varying from elemen-[illegible] pedagogic instruction to refined [illegible]. Perhaps because of these

Expertise

F. J. NORTON and EDWARD M. WILSON: *Two Spanish Verse Chap-Books.* 93pp. Cambridge University Press. £2 5s.

The publication of this book has an importance far transcending that of the two sixteenth-century Spanish chapbooks themselves, which are reproduced in facsimile with a formidable array of both textual and bibliographical scholarship. Such techniques have as yet hardly been deployed except in the most rudimentary way upon our own popular literature, and within certain clearly defined limitations *Two Spanish Verse Chap-Books* is a model of its kind. There can be no question about the value of such investigations: both chapbooks and ballad sheets are crucial, if largely unexplored, sources for the social historian.

It is precisely this fact which imposes limitations upon this volume. The scholarship of the authors is impeccable, but the question one wishes they had formulated as a corollary to it is: what, in social terms, is the significance of the chapbook? A great deal that they say is relevant, but no clear impression emerges that chapbooks were bought and presumably read by an unsophisticated, barely lettered public. To the extent that this question remains unasked the book is a disappointing one, and probably reflects the reluctance of bibliographical scholars in general to see the printed word in its relation to society, and their predisposition to regard the establishment of a text as an end in itself. Until new questions about the significance of the printed word, the book trade and the reading public are asked, it seems likely that much bibliography may remain an arid study, increasingly cut off from other disciplines—notably history, to which it could make a valuable contribution.

To say this is not to accuse Mr. Norton or Professor Wilson of aridity. They have not only provided a splendid edition of two rare Spanish chapbooks but have also initiated a new era in chapbook bibliography. *Two Spanish Verse Chap-Books* starts with an account of the provenance of the works. They appear to be unique, and were purchased for Cambridge University Library from a Paris bookseller in 1964. The first one, *Romance de Amadis*, was printed in Burgos some time after April, 1515, and before November, 1519. The detailed evidence leading to this conclusion rests upon a careful analysis of the type used, and it is of particular interest to note that the single woodcut used to embellish the text was still in use, though much deteriorated, a century or so later. The other chapbook, *Inuzio ballady y trobado*, was printed at Salamanca in about 1510; and here again the facts upon which this assertion rests are the result of a detailed scrutiny of the type used.

Equally scrupulous investigation has gone into the compilation of the list of poetical chapbooks up to 1520; while the discussion of the two texts which are reproduced is learned, and rightly notes in passing "the fallibility of chap-book printers, even when they had a good text to follow". From a bibliographical and textual point of view this is all highly satisfactory; but this expertise is not exploited—the facts are here, but no questions are addressed to them.

Leaving aside the use of the term "chapbook", there are several questions which ought to be asked. What part did the chapbook play in the educational boom following which seventeenth-century Spain, in Professor Cipolla's words, "found herself burdened with numerous and unemployed men of letters"? Was the chapbook an important element in Spanish popular culture? What was the relationship between such culture and popular education?

None of these questions—and there are many which could be raised—is susceptible of an easy answer. Neither, of course, are they essentially bibliographical; but because these two publications are presented here with a wealth of such scholarship, it becomes possible to raise them, not so much with the illusory hope of finding definitive answers but rather to set precedents in discussion and to establish the fact that bibliography has a great deal to contribute to what might be termed the social history of popular taste. Within the brief they set themselves, Mr. Norton and Professor Wilson have done superlatively well. What one regrets indeed is the fact that their brief is so narrowly circumscribed.

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Too high a price?

ARNE NAESS: *Scepticism*. 165pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 30s.

Professor Naess is perhaps best known to British philosophers for an attempt to determine the meaning of "truth" by public opinion poll methods. *Scepticism* contains suggestions of an appeal to an authority of another kind in establishing a philosophical position. For Professor Naess argues that philosophical scepticism has been often misunderstood, and he draws our attention to that form of scepticism held by the Greek philosopher Pyrrho, as reported in the works of Sextus Empiricus. The rest of the book consists of a fairly elaborate defence of that position and an examination of its implications for beliefs and attitudes of a variety of kinds. It argues that this form of scepticism is both logically and psychologically tenable, and defends it in terms of considerations about belief and knowledge which have received some currency in Anglo-Saxon philosophy of recent years. There are, for example, many references to Ayer and Austin. It remains, however, a somewhat odd book.

Scepticism, as Professor Naess describes it, is really an attitude rather than a philosophical position. But, if that is so, it is clear that it must be very difficult for a philosopher to set out what it is in terms of the apparatus of traditional epistemology. Professor Naess spends some time on the role that a remark like "I know nothing" can play for a sceptic. Indeed a good deal of his epistemological discussion is devoted to a consideration of the possible use by sceptics of first person usages of "believe" and "know". What, in other words, can a sceptic say that he knows and does not know, or believes and does not believe? These are the operative questions rather than those which ask what the sceptic can allow that others know or believe. But Professor Naess does not altogether make this point clear, if indeed he is clear about it himself. In consequence his discussion has an obscurity and awkwardness which is greater than it need be.

It is very difficult to see whether Professor Naess has made out his case. That scepticism constitutes an attitude of mind which someone can maintain over a wide range of issues is clear enough. Whether it amounts to a consistent position is another matter, and in this respect it is possible that Professor Naess has paid insufficient attention to the historical development of the sceptical school in ancient Greece. For as a *philosophy* scepticism became more and more scholastic, and with this came something of the realization that perhaps the only legitimate philosophical position for a sceptic is silence. And that is a price too high for most philosophers to pay.

Hegel the moralist

W. H. WALSH: *Hegelian Ethics*. 84pp. Macmillan. Paperback, 10s.

This short monograph is one of the "New Studies in Ethics" series which it is proposed to reprint as one large encyclopedic book. It is not certain that they are not more useful in their present separate form. In the case of Hegel, one is extremely likely to be put off, by the labour of reading him and the bulk of his works as well as those of his expositors, from ever finding out what he actually said. It is encouraging, therefore, to have a short and commonsense account of at least his ethical philosophy which is readily available and easy to read. Professor Walsh has chosen to expound the ethical theory of Hegel by reference to, and in contrast with, that of Kant, and this method is successful. It was through criticism of Kant that Hegel came to think of morality as a matter not of law, even self-imposed law, but of the fulfilment of some psychological human need; or rather it was through criticism of Kant that he came to regard morality, the law-governed way of life, as only a small and not very important part of life. Again, it was in dissociating himself from the philosophy of Kant that he came to think of human conduct always in a social or national context, never as an isolated phenomenon.

It is because Hegel is not interested in man by himself, apart from his social and political context, that one tends not to consider him as part of the canon of Moral Philosophers. But, if only because of his profound effect on later authors, he should not be neglected in this role. *Hegelian Ethics* will, at any rate, be an extremely useful book for anyone who has ever been puzzled about how to fit Hegel into the history of moral philosophy. Much has been written about his influence upon Marxism and upon political thought in general, but little effort has been made, by any English writer, to separate the morals from the politics. For this we should be very grateful to Professor Walsh, and should forgive him the occasional parochialism of his approach to the subject. One sometimes feels that Hegel is the matter reduced in these pages; reduced, that is, to something of the size potentially to fit into an examination syllabus. But it is irrational to welcome his being rendered approachable, and then to complain that he has been tamed.

Old targets

A. C. EWING: *Non-Linguistic Philosophy*. 279pp. Allen and Unwin. £2 12s. 6d.

Dr. Ewing has chosen an oddly attractive title for this collection of his papers, but it is doubtful whether it accurately describes its contents. For, despite the fact that he tilts at a number of the more fashionable windmills of contemporary British philosophy, his own position is fairly and squarely within the tradition that produced so-called linguistic philosophy. It is very much the work of an Anglo-Saxon philosopher, even if one of a somewhat old-fashioned sort. Many of the papers in *Non-Linguistic Philosophy* were written a long time ago, and their targets have long ceased to matter to contemporary philosophers. Verificationism, for example, is surely dead and buried. It is in consequence doubtful whether this book could have much interest for someone concerned with the present philosophical scene.

Not that Dr. Ewing's criticisms are not often acute. His criticisms of Austin on "can-statements", for example, are very well taken, and this is not untypical of the author. But the book does not live up to the claim in the blurb that it challenges the prevailing school of philosophy. "Challenge" is not a word that can be used of Dr. Ewing's writings. He is very much a plain man's philosopher; and sensible and acute though his observations are, they somehow lack the ringing tones that a challenge requires. The three final papers are devoted to the philosophy of religion: even here the approach is a very matter-of-fact one, and ringing tones are once more absent.

Indeed the papers, written though they were over a considerable period of time, are very much apiece: they peck away at certain issues, and it cannot be denied that they frequently leave their mark. Dr. Ewing's approach and his line of criticism are consistent, but it is doubtful whether *Non-Linguistic Philosophy* adds much to his reputation. These articles contribute little to what he has already published, and they do not reveal a sufficiently distinctive position to warrant the special attention that "collected papers" often demand. It is all very sane, but not inspired.

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WHO WHOM?

...ly cogently argued that our ...ct, peculiar British econo... ...l political problems derive ...willingness to learn up-to-... in the management of ...beings by other human ...This seems true in Parlia... politics, in educational and ...olutions, and above all in ...cial sectors of national life ...all human beings progress ...t: in private business and ...dministration. Who should ...whom? And how should ...agers be trained?

...ace at the present (and too ...cing) state of our trade ...vement, of our industrial ...s of our governmental ...tutions inside and outside the ...of Commons, and of our so... ...public services—and then a ...t all other advanced ...m" or "free" countries— ...bot the most dedicated Bri... ...ining civil servant, planner ...Englander. Oddly enough, ...private enterprises during the ...g years has there been any ...d organized move away ...agement of human beings ...ters to that by professionally ...men and women; and meanly ...private enterprise business ...esmen are more disliked, ...ed and depreciated by the ...radio, press, and two and ...three political parties ...all parties and media ...communication in all ...western countries, includ... ...ain. On the other hand ...ervices and governmental, ...s, and institutional employ... ...—fill very recently been ...ally deemed more "U" in this ...ct, and exempt from vulgar criti... ...ism.

...ems to be meaningless that pri... ...enterprise and the business see... ...ds such higher popularity and ...esteem and better treatment at ...hands of all politicians, press and ...ublic opinion in Germany, Japan, the United States, Australia, Canada, ...South Africa, Scandinavia and ...Holland than do ours; and that ...economic performances over ...two decades—in net saving ...of investment in capital, in unit ...labour costs, in over-all pro... ...growth, in shares of world ...trade, in currency and balance ...of payments problems—have been ...much better than ours. Even now, ...the word "management" is ...hated in Britain, the hearer, ...nine times out of a hundred, ...actually thinks only of horing. ...Some businessmen: not gen... ...erally the management of our cen... ...tral governmental and pub... ...lically owned and run services and in... ...dustries which turn out and admini... ...nearly half our national income; ...especially, of our vast health ...and educational institutions, or the ...Board, Iron and Steel Corpora... ...tion, electricity and gas boards, state ...coal and railways, Port of Lon... ...don Authority, or B.B.C. Only our ...private enterprise sector is thought ...worthy of leading management and ...succeeding professionally trained as ...such.

...The Treasury has long had its man... ...power, services and operations ...under review; and as yet a fair smat... ...tering of civil servants of all grades, ...from assistants to top levels, go ...on one shorter or longer man... ...agement training course at one or ...more recognized institution; but ...in conjunction with the magnitude ...of the public sector in our national ...life, the increment of public ...managerial efficiency is demon... ...strably and lamentably small. Yet ...we gossip more and more fre... ...quently, draw comparisons un... ...favourable to the public sector's ser... ...vice to its customers, or to its salaries ...and status, from the performances ...put on by our private enterprises ...which carry on without the public ...sector's advantages of conferred ...status, and in freer competitive ...climate at home and abroad. Our ...public economy" has long suffered ...from deep-rooted public opinion ...which sees management in general, ...and managerial efficiency in the ...use of national resources in par... ...ticular, with human

PETER F. DRUCKER: *The Age of Discontinuity: Guidelines to our Changing Society*. 369pp. Heinemann. £3 15s.

D. N. CHORAFAS: *The Knowledge Revolution*. 142pp. Allen and Unwin. 30s.

WALTER PLOWMAN: *The Board Room*. 378pp. Hutchinson. £3.

...and our national need to improve it all round in all public as well as private concerns.

An excellent example of British capacity for self-delusion, whereby a new name for the same problem is generally taken to be a solution, is our recent official manipulation of the blessed word "productivity". It adorns the ex-twhile Ministry of Labour (now of "Employment and Productivity") and is used to sanction pay rises above the official average by means of arbitrary, arcane and administrative interpretations of the word.

So it is with the word "management". Thinking that what we most need is to improve management of private enterprise's resources—from which we get most in taxes, salaries, wages, and consumer goods—we have in the past twenty-four years set up a nation-wide system of management training which is now in danger of becoming too top-heavy and lop-sided to cope with our current needs.

One look at the list of books on pages 620-1 shows how many competing British publishers now run whole series on management subjects for use in our vast higher-educational, undergraduate, post-graduate, adult and post-business management training network. They would not have muscled-in on this subject had the demand not grown so swiftly. Few realize how fast that national network has grown, how widely it extends, and how big a national social force it has become, in contrast to what went before as recently as a decade ago. At latest count there are some 150 "management courses" in our universities, another 250 in our colleges of technology or commerce, and more than another 250 in independent institutions, all ranging from one week in length to three years and more.

Management education is one of the most fashionable pastimes of the decade and the profession of management teacher has exploded into existence as none other on record. Whoever else may fear the threat of unemployment it is hardly likely to be the teacher of business subjects.

Thus Dr. R. W. Revans, Managing Director of the Inter-University Programme in Management Education, Brussels, in his foreword to *Productivity Now* by Jack Butterworth, reviewed on page 620.

What are these business subjects? Whose business? Management education to enable them to manage whom, and what, with better economic results? Better results for whom, from whom and what? Dr. Revans has long been one of our eminent advocates of both academic and practical training for management; but he has always kept his feet on solid earth. In the same foreword he goes on:

> The arithmetic of book-keeping may well be taught by arithmeticians, but they do not teach the activity recognized as book-keeping in a factory; the professor of political science can write the final volume on the literature of political science but he stands in quivering impotence before the revolt of his own students.

Are managers leaders, and vice versâ? Are they born, or made, or both?

Whatever the answers, we cannot afford not to train managers for our private and public sectors as well as possible. *How* well? Management education was one of the present Government's priority fields for expanding postgraduate grants; and some alarm has arisen from the recent (perhaps unwise) decision to centralize postgraduate management training grants, formerly under local authorities, in the sole hands of the somewhat narrowly representative This body now finds itself mixed up with the Department of Education ("*and* Science") about cutting 1969-70 grants almost to one-half of those for 1968-69. This mix-up will soon, one learns, be sorted out; but it is symptomatic of the administrative clashes, chaos and confusion that have swiftly come about in this vast, critical, and potentially creative field.

The two new postgraduate business schools associated with London and Manchester universities, aiming (and promising well) to match any in America, prudently began on a modest scale, but with their teaching faculties enormously strengthened by eminent part-time or full-time teachers from private enterprise and public administration. The Oxford Centre of Management Studies was inaugurated last month under royal auspices and the patronage of some of our leading businessmen. The business or management training schools at other universities (e.g. Aston at Birmingham, Strathclyde at Glasgow, Bath, Brunel, Warwick, Lancaster, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Leicester) have quickly earned the esteem—and happily secured the help in teaching—of leading local business concerns and their "top people". Many of these universities have been deliberately and deservedly promoted from the old "Cats" (Colleges of Advanced Technology) which had long enjoyed that *élan vital* which springs, as in America and Germany, from enduring associations between family or other businesses and the local colleges of technology, polytechnics, or universities. (Would Zürich, or Cambridge, Mass., or Turin—or Tokyo or Yokohama—have become as important to their countries' economics as they now are, without such local associations?) Nor does this good work stay within national bounds: no more than can the international or multi-national private enterprise itself to which Miss Caroline Miles has just devoted a valuable and interesting paper (*International Affairs*. Chatham House, 1969, Vol. 45, No. 2). The Ford Foundation in April this year announced that it was giving £125,000 each to the London and Manchester graduate business schools as portions of an improvement programme for management training in Europe: under which even Cambridge (Eng.) will receive a sum of £39,000 to establish a post in "business research" and to pay some "visiting" lecturers.

In April, too, in Amsterdam 250 of the 2,500 European alumni of the Harvard business school met four professors from that pioneering institution to bring their skills and contacts up to date. In France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Holland and Britain, professors and others from American business schools regularly collaborate with national institutions for adult management education. It is as international as national a hallmark of skill and a new social force. And it is only just beginning. Ill, materially, fares the land that ignores or tries to remain untouched by it. Better fares the land, materially, that takes this contemporary tide at the flood whithersoever it leads, and adapts to its implications.

Last autumn the British Institute of Management celebrated its twenty-first anniversary. This year already it is once more in the throes of reorganization, attendant on the speed with which the needs of management training change and on the general chaos into which British management education has fallen as a result of over-rapid mushrooming of institutions, courses and "paper qualifications".

Only last December the Platt Report recommended sweeping changes in our business and management training. (Mr. J. W. Platt, formerly of Shell and an Oxford double-first Rhodes Scholar, perhaps did more than anyone else to get the London and Manchester postgraduate business schools financed and started and the foundation for Management Education established.) It recommended abolition of the present Diploma in Management Studies,

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taken at more than forty colleges (like the valuable Regent Street Poly.), in favour of a nation-wide, rationalized, regionally coordinated network of some 200 colleges, (e.g., "technical and commercial") for further and adult education and training; and offering in this field short courses for senior managers, mid-career courses for potential managers, and a post-graduate master's degree course for equivalent). Now, in spite of the confused authorities and institutions in our management training system with its innumerable overlapping units, we are putting through more than 50,000 candidates of whom fewer than two-fifths can reach middle-management and only 2,400 or 4 per cent. top management. So we already need to prune, streamline, coalesce, rationalize—both in management training courses and in the institutions offering them.

But business training is "quite another thing" than management. Just as leadership is not necessarily management, nor vice versa, so business training may be well worth expansion, while extra training for fewer potential places in middle and top management may not be—*now*. For business methodology widens technologically, instrumentally, every day: computers, typing pools and automatic typing "banks", multi-copying, printing, book-keeping, invoicing, accounting, costing, stock-keeping, maintenance and other controls, archives, and so on through the gamut of small and large-scale modern producing, distributing, selling, transporting, employing, servicing, repairing units.

Like some other Western advanced countries (though not as embarrassingly for our future as the United States) we had a "baby boom" the outcome of which is now passing on to and through the labour markets: just when blue-collar jobs are being transcended by white-collar jobs, and big and small businesses (*and* the public monopolies, services, industries, and government offices) increasingly require more trained lower and middle and higher administrative functionaries with up-to-date skills, and need fewer and fewer manual or unskilled or even semi-skilled workpeople. For all of these, who cannot aspire or hope—nor probably (and reasonably) would ever ardently want—to be middle or top managers, institutional training of a serious, schematic, continuous kind (both in practice and principles) is not only nationally desirable but also already "indicated" (in the medical sense) by contemporary technical developments. Many more employees than ever before in our history must now not only learn skills but learn fresh skills anew while yet young: so fast does obsolescence of the old and invention of the new equipment demand such new learning.

Here we in Britain run headlong into the challenge sketched with frightening clarity in the books of those indefatigable management experts Mr. Peter Drucker and Professor D. N. Chorafas. The very titles of their latest works *The Age of Discontinuity* and *The Knowledge Revolution* define our training problems for business, management and public administration; for increasingly, everywhere in countries with advanced technology, knowledge of special and recondite techniques expands its frontiers and its potentially productive and economic applications in business and public administration at an accelerating pace, rendering earlier learned skills and methods (labour) and equipment (capital) more rapidly obsolete and redundant. Meanwhile in Britain organized labour (in unions and their political parties) and organized capital (boards and shareholders) rally to resist modernity by subsidizing (out of "external" funds like foreign borrowing or taxpayers' and ratepayers'—compulsory contributions) the old-fashioned out-of-date requirements of skill or non-skill or of the obsolete capital equipment. Looking at the current Upper Clyde Shipbuilders cause célèbre, any foreigner might be forgiven for concluding that, indebted to foreigners as we still are and needing to "roll over" our recent debts into a still more problematic future, we had as a nation collectively or collectivistically taken leave of our senses and decided to contract out of the century into the last.

Our foreign friend might conclude the same thing from our Selective Employment Tax, which flies flatly in the face of technological progress penalizing "service", tertiary and white-collar-promoted jobs in favour of less-skilled blue-collar operators; while the uninterrupted trend over the past twenty-four years in the United States, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Germany, and even Japan has patently been out of primary and secondary employments into tertiary, out of less and into more skilled, more knowledge-needing jobs. Our coalmines, ports, railways, even the state airlines, not only employ, but are fiscally and in other ways encouraged and paid to employ, two or three times the amount—perhaps one-half or one-quarter the skilled quality—of the manpower employed for the same volume of output by our leading Western competitors: with natural results like the current insulating of London and Southampton from the benefits of "the container revolution" in shipping and the consequent switching of the pioneer British shipping lines to Rotterdam or Antwerp.

These are not straws in the winds of technological change now blowing on Britain and all advanced economic systems: in our case they are whole hayrucks. Dr. Drucker emphasizes "the new technology" and its implications and applications in entirely new industries by reason of the rapidity of its advance: the equally swift development to a world economy from a regional system: our lack of international institutions and methodology to cope with all this: and the vast social and international upheavals in sight as what Professor Chorafas terms "the knowledge revolution" widens and deepens, changing familiar patterns of work, communication, thinking, governing and managing. Dr. Drucker gives us all a good shaking-up. Americans and all. America's under-privileged millions stay generations if not centuries behind the college-educated and those making the knowledge-grade to the managerial, technological, governing, decision-making, responsible and therefore (rightly) better-paid posts.

Yet how much worse is it when he looks, and bids us look, at the world. No non-European, non-north American country has joined the club of advanced "Western" technological nations since Japan: and no national or international institutional economists, or bodies thereof, have yet come up with viable solutions to these economic and social problems of narrowing the gaps in productivity, standards of life and material welfare, &c. (His horrifying calculation that to raise real income per head throughout the world merely to $1,000 a year on average would require annual new capital investment of $1,400,000m.—or 50 per cent more than the present national output-income of the United States—seems reasonable in view of the lack of skilled manpower and management in the world: but it does help to define the dimensions of our problems.)

Meanwhile Professor Chorafas, drawing on his remarkable experience in businesses in many nations and continents and in the academic groves, tells us that current trends in "the knowledge industry" are pushing North America ahead of Western Europe (and for that matter much of Russian efforts) and other continents farther behind: that the real *défi Américain*, like the realities behind the "brain drains" into North America (and to a less extent into Western Europe from Asia and Africa), is quite other than popularly supposed, lying rather in the deliberate dovetailing in North American society of the educational and management training systems (one and the same) with the social and economic organizations necessary to encourage invention, initiative, application, change and economic development.

These thoughts are by no means new: the lags in application of new ideas may be greatest in Britain but they are evident everywhere when vested interests have to be uprooted. Over a year ago two other books made many of these points in different ways: *The Enterprise in Transition* by Dr. van der Haas (from the management services group of Royal-Dutch Shell on "The [illegible] was based on direct comparisons between European and American firms' experience and performance and expressly warned Europeans about falling behind in the technical, managerial, "knowledge revolution". *Management and Machiavelli* by Antony Jay, less scholarly but more readably, as befits one who learnt the craft of the B.B.C., maintains the arguable thesis that the large and growing modern corporations (public and private), are like feudal, medieval, often mercantilist States to whom "the modern Machiavelli" might well be adviser. He is very good on Big Corporations' courts and courtiers, barons, knights, hierarchies, even hired assassins. But he contributes something of real value when he describes the errors, lags, wastes and occasional successes of these "economic sovereigns" problems of devolution, delegation, training up of successors (the later Roman Emperors' greatest failure) and nurture of newly required skills. "Managed industries" and firms, he rightly says, "will succeed 'bossed' ones". Which brings us back to our main topic: what do we all need most from management, and how do we train the managers to provide it?

Out of our 26 million gainfully occupied population (including the armed forces) there must be some 1½ million "management" persons: roughly one in every twelve to thirteen in ordinary productive employment, apart from the armed forces, self-employed, professions, &c. (On page 621 one author estimates "supervisors, foremen and forewomen", the critical last link in the management chain connecting boards to shop-floors, at more than 300,000 in this country today.) Of clerical and "admin" civil and local government servants alone by no means "managers" all of them, but all of them non-manual workers and all managing us and our affairs we have more than 1½ and nearer to 2 million. The same category of clerical and administrative workers in our publicly-owned industries, boards and services transport of all kinds, ports, fuel and energy, water, iron and steel, B.B.C., &c., to a further 1½ to 2 million—hugely the growing number of so-called managers in our [illegible] life, merely in its economic administrative aspects, must be 4½ million, whereas only 2½ ago it was put at 500,000. [illegible] elements is our main [illegible] lem, and that of our [illegible] competitors composed.

Why such growth? Simply, British private company [illegible] year, when (on consultants' they reorganized and [illegible] and up-dated their management found the managers needed over 50 per cent. but so did tivity and profits. It was "Parkinson's Law": the economies were greater. The technological trend of skill throws a bright light forward numbers of existing managers will have to be re-trained, trained again and again: as will all younger "operatives" semi-skilled, a constant up-like the flows of no-longer farmworkers to the cities, America and continental Europe, and of no-longer coalminers and shipbuilders, roadmakers in those same [illegible] for the past two decades have a built-in reservoir of inadequately available new adult skilled power. *Per contra* we in Britain actually using high taxes to manpower in nineteenth-century and industries and regions Chorafas and Dr. Drucker, any economist observer from Britain, must stand aghast at passes, for developmental, and manpower training [illegible] Britain: but not aghast at our wastefulness, lagging performance costive economy.

Sir Walter Puckey renders service in his latest book, *The Room*, based on a lifetime's ence of "topmanship". plight we would do well to dust off, and re-examine clichés in unskilled economic talk, like "the Board", directors", "the bosses".

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He distinguishes admirably, and training, the kinds of but the Board as a whole expose; and how much of management and of more leadership" the Board's Board compass. Taking level of technological ad- implications, he also our need to devolve respon- from the mere Board itself, to take all directors' profes- experience in management in table Boards to encompass range of "knowledge" and skills and data. Once Walter sounds a foesin for and Britain in particular as of the future" rolls tech- "knowledge" onward in terms.

all this background our administrative, managerial, problems come sharply Our performances will sensibly until we radi- ctural, reorganize and inte- higher and adult educa- training systems to cope "knowledge revolution" rapidly growing need of new roughout our economy. The ale of the task is so great ology is needed for mak-

ing so much of its outlines apparent in the columns of the *TLS*: as indeed has regularly been done during the past fifteen years. Yet the Platt Report lies unheeded since six months ago: the confusion and chaos of our management and business training courses and institutions persist: and our truly great fund of teaching talent, from academic groves and business alike, gets more and more diluted and dissipated, to the increasing frustration of able teachers and students and the annoyance of everybody (not least the taxpayers).

Surely this national problem is one for the solution of which all Socialists, Liberals, Tories, trade unionists and bosses, shareholders and directors, educationists and civil servants, scientists and arts graduates could easily collaborate on a rational, rationalized, nation-wide system. That the need is known, realized and being partially and confusedly met is shown by the publishers whose specific books are reviewed on pages 620-1. Or must we for this aspect of our modernization and rejuvenation await that kind of "backs to the wall" crunch for which, in so many other of our national aspects, we appear still to be waiting?

Contemporary

JOHN STUART MILL: *Essays on Economics and Society*. Introduction by Lord Robbins. Volume IV: 404pp. Volume V: pp.405-847. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £8 8s. the pair.

Mill's twenty-eight papers on economic method, problems and policy are published in two volumes in chronological order of original publication. The textual editor, Professor John M. Robson of Toronto University, is editor of *The Mill News Letter*. He provides

as the basic text the latest version from Mill's own pen. Earlier versions, and those in which he may have had a hand though published after his death, are collated with the basic text, and the resulting substantive variants are given as footnotes.

In his substantial textual introduction, Professor Robson explains that writings by Mill in which the economic interest is secondary will appear in other volumes. The two volumes of *Essays on Economics and Society* contain the writings in which the economic content is paramount, and this renders them particularly attractive to economists. As Professor Robson states, "One can reasonably assume that readers will be content to follow Mill across interdisciplinary boundaries to other volumes of the edition." Professor Robson also provides a "Bibliographic Index of Persons and Works Cited in the *Essays*, with Variants and Notes" of more than sixty pages and the volumes are, of course, fully indexed.

In reading the *Essays* one is aware only of Mill; the textual editor never intrudes, Professor Robson has produced volumes which, in editing virtuosity, rival Piero Sraffa's *Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, and there can be no higher praise. The forty-page introduction by Lord Robbins, an acknowledged authority on nineteenth-century economists, admirably relates the essays to Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* and "the evolution of the views of their author on economic and social problems". Lord Robbins considers the essays under six main headings: "General Economic Theory (other than money and banking); Money and Banking; Public Finance; Labour; Property and Its Social Control; and Socialism". The essays fully justify the verdict of Lord Robbins:

> The historic value of Mill's contribution did not reside either in the range or in the finality of the elements of the system; it was rather in the spirit thereof. It is for this reason that for a generation disillusioned with systems, he once more appears, as a highly admirable figure: a man with a firm hold on the ultimate values of truth and justice and liberty, with strong principles and a strong belief in their applicability; yet, once the high spirits and arrogance of youth had been transcended, fair in argument, willing to learn from experience, empirical in practical judgment, experimental in action.

Now that Mill's essays on economics are readily accessible in such an attractive form, two things are likely to happen. First, many economists will revise their views of Mill: there is a tendency for economists to jump from Ricardo to Marshall, thereby by-passing Mill. He tends to be regarded merely as the writer of yet another *Principles of Political Economy*, who made an original contribution to the theory of international trade on the demand side, and who devoted the rest of his life to political and philosophical problems which interested him more. The *Essays* clearly demonstrate that this was not so. Mill clearly recognized the importance of economic forces in society, and he mastered the principles of political economy in order to understand how those forces operated. Throughout his life economic problems and their solution were an abiding passion. The *Essays* leave the impression that the Monopolies Commission, the Department of Economic Affairs and the Prices and Incomes Board have taken the place of John Stuart Mill. Secondly, economists will perhaps refrain from viewing the classical economists as men who erroneously regarded the institutions of capitalism as perfect and established for all time. Certainly in these *Essays* Mill did not consider the economic organization of his time as in any way ideal or permanent.

In Mill's *Essays on Economics* we find unadulterated economics. In Mill's time men were sufficiently like economic men for the theories to reflect fairly accurately the real world. In Mill economics was not the mere "handmaiden of sociology" it was destined to become after 1890. We may find his dismissal of progressive taxation quaint and his demonstrations that aggregate demand must always be effective peculiar; nevertheless, his willingness to face facts and his insistence on participation leave with the reader the impression that Mill is as much a contemporary as a great Victorian figure.

Burning bright

BRIAN ASH: *Tiger in your Tank*. 166pp. Cassell. 25s.

Last year a B.B.C. television reporter made a seemingly authentic visit to a subterranean refuge furnished against some nuclear Doomsday by a large oil company in America. It would be hard to think of a more repellent monument to the self-esteem of which large corporations seem to be capable; it is the same self-esteem that makes Brian Ash's *Tiger In Your Tank* a melancholy book to read.

Mr. Ash has assembled the story of the massive advertising campaign for Esso Extra petrol built around the image of the tiger, but he has done so in the committed and superficial way of a prolonged company hand-out. A rigorous and detailed study of a particular advertising campaign, with transcripts of all the dozens of meetings involved—especially the pretentious think-sessions, with their mixture of cheap fantasy and obsequiousness, definitively lampooned years ago by S. J. Perelman—records of expenditure, and a proper analysis of the advertising's effect on retailers and consumers, would be a genuine sociological document. Mr. Ash has not aimed at anything so valuable and has, for good measure, failed to deal at all strictly with the moral problems raised by advertising in general and by a campaign vaunting the power of a petrol in particular.

What is wrong with a great deal of publicity is surely that it exists to invest utterly trivial decisions with bogus significance. There is a ludicrous imbalance between the intensity of effort and discussion that spawns an advertising campaign and its puny effect on rational minds. Millions of pounds may be spent on dramatizing the moment and point of sale as a crisis, only to find that most people, quite properly, insist on preserving it as a moment of total insignificance. The divorce between effort and effect can lead to the sort of solipsism recorded in Mr. Ash's last chapters, in which the tiger campaign is lumpishly revived as a spurious quarrel between Esso's advertising manager and the tiger itself. This, as an anonymous copywriter quoted has the grace to recognize, is advertising the advertising and not the petrol.

Objections made at the time that the Esso tiger encouraged aggressive driving are brushed aside with predictable haste. What matters of course is not whether the campaign did encourage aggression but whether it was meant to; to claim that it did would be to accord advertising an influence it may well not possess. But Mr. Ash has one quotation of unsurpassed cynicism: in Italy, a country where driving is even farther from being a simply functional matter than it is elsewhere, a safety campaign was mounted on the lines of "Drive carefully—and leave the tiger in the jungle". Esso's European advertising manager's comment is recorded as: "And, of course, this was just about the best thing they could have done to revitalize the Tiger!"

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ANSOFF, IGOR H. *Corporate Strategy*. 205pp. Penguin. 5s.

The Professor of Business Administration at the Carnegie Institute of Technology's Graduate School expounds and explains problems of company strategy set by growth policies, from American experience but with timely British applications.

ANSOFF, H. IGOR (Editor). *Business Strategy*. 388pp. Penguin. 10s.

Professor Ansoff's selected readings are catholic, exhaustive and commendably eclectic on the theory of the firm, adaptation to change, planning for it, forecasting for "the next thirty years" (Kahn and Wiener's famous article on the next thirty-three years from *Daedalus* is here) and, for good intellectually spicy measure, the confrontation of Galbraith by Hayek and Simon.

BOWEL, R. O. M. *Integrated Managerial Controls*. 369pp. Longmans. £3 15s.

Computers' help for overall control, whether centralized or not, and allied skills, uses, and implications are the theme of this wide-ranging yet profound work by an Australian management consultant experienced in all computerizable applications of managerial control in all kinds of concerns and departments.

BRECH, E. F. L. (Editor). *Management in the Textile Industry*. 557pp. Longmans for the Textile Institute. £6.

This exhaustive, authoritative book by eminent hands well-known in and out of this old but up-and-coming British industry (like Professor L. H. C. Tippett) covers productivity and its measurement, management accounting, investment appraisal (vital in an old industry), work study, "R& D", quality control, marketing, wage structures, personnel problems, and almost every aspect of this many-faced industry's problems, in natural and man-made fibres and in traditional as well as new methods of spinning, weaving, &c. A monumental work of instruction, reference and analysis.

BUTTERWORTH, JACK. *Productivity Now*. 148pp. Oxford: Pergamon Press. 30s. (flexi-cover, 21s.).

Lecturer at the Institute of Science and Technology of the University of Manchester, Dr. Butterworth pioneered at the Manchester College of Technology (as it then was) work between business experts and academic researchers. His description, survey, analysis and illuminating case-studies of practical problems in raising productivity of labour and equipment are first-class. His book deserves a far wider public than the merely managerial or workaday.

CADMAN, M. H. (Editor). *Business Economics*. Foreword by Lord Beeching. 106pp. Macmillan. £2 2s.

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CHILD, JOHN. *British Management Thought*. 272pp. Allen and Unwin. £2 15s.

The author, senior research officer at the London Business School and co-author of *The Sociology of Industry*, renders a real service with this new, comprehensive survey of the development of British thought on problems of management, techniques and responsibilities, scope and methods. He treats it historically, comparatively and critically, citing many experts from business and teaching. The last chapter on the implications for British management education is first-class and timely. A notable contribution to a good series.

DALE, ERNEST, and MICHELON, L. C. *Modern Management Methods*. 211pp. Slough: Foulsham. 35s. 235pp. Penguin. 7s.

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FARROW, NIGEL (Editor). *Progress of Management Research*. 157pp. Penguin. 4s.

Useful chapters by leading British authorities in the management and management education fields drawn from British universities and firms, including Professors Lawrence, McClelland, Lupton, Rivett, Elfon, and Drs. Gibor and A. T. M. Wilson; on forward-looking policies, planning, research, development, growth, consumption changes, and marketing, for all concerned.

KEAY, FRED. *The Numerate Manager*. 228pp. Allen and Unwin. £2 2s.

The fourth volume in the "Studies in Management" series is a useful though often off-putting corrective to those who confuse technical information getting and using with managerial leadership, by an emphatic believer that "literacy is not enough" and an expert in Operations Research and all mathematical mensuration.

NEWMAN, A. D., and ROWBOTTOM, R. W. *Organization Analysis*. 139pp. Heinemann. 30s.

The director of the Glacier Institute of Management and Mr. Rowbottom, basing their work on the Glacier (Metal) Project's experience, provide a brief but concise survey of the organizational aspects of management, emphasizing the personal and communicational problems.

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The editors (business-experienced teachers at the down-to-earth Management Centre at the University of Bradford) have assembled eleven expert chapters, on what Peter Drucker in a sensible foreword calls the "good tools" of the good management which deserve skilled hands, by eminent authorities exercising day-to-day responsibilities in British and international concerns with these several skills: admirable reference source for students of all ages and levels of such skills.

WINGO, WALTER. *Pattern for Success*. 235pp. Tadworth: The Worlds Work. 30s.

The editors of *Nation's Business* sent their associate editor to attend and describe fully the Advanced Management Program offered twice a year at the famous Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration with this informative, refreshing outcome.

YEWDALL, GORDON A. (Editor). *Management Decision-making*. 201pp. Pan Books. 6s.

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PERSONNEL & SOCIAL PROBLEMS

ANTHONY, PETER, and CRICHTON, ANNE. *Industrial Relations and the Personnel Specialists*. 302pp. Batsford. £2 15s.

Careful examination by lecturer, in Social Science at University College, Cardiff, of inadequacies of status, power, &c., in hands of personnel officers; of differences between industrial relations and personnel relations and communications; and of structural blockages in contemporary British industrial and personnel relations. The "Donovan" Commission's Report is hardly adequately treated in an appendix; but the main work will prove useful to all personnel officers and would-be-such.

ARGENTI, JOHN. *Corporate Planning: a Practical Guide*. 301pp. Allen and Unwin. £2.

Within the past decade long-range corporate planning started (like so much else in management techniques) in the United States, has caught on in Britain: witness our mushrooming Society for Long Range Planning: so planning is becoming a less-politically overtoned word. The author, in a high position in British business, believes in the feasibility of confiding it to middle-management (after adequate training). This is a sensible, non-mathematical, comprehensive and above all creative book, worth having.

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CURRER-BRIGGS, NOEL (Editor). *Security*. 154pp. Hutchinson. £2 2s.

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EVANDERS, ALLAN (Editor). *tive Bargaining*. 431pp. 10s.

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KELLY, JOE. *Is Scientific Mana Possible?* 332pp. Faber and £3 3s.

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RHENMAN, ERIC. *Industrial Democracy and Industrial Management*. 183pp. Tavistock Publications. 30s.

From the Professor of Business Administration at Lund University, Sweden, the author's "critical essay" was the outcome of an initiative by the Swedish Employers' Federation, published under the auspices of the "Technology and Democratic Society" series devoted to that topic embracing American, British, French and Yugoslav, as well as other, nationalities. It has been ably translated (by Mrs. Nancy Adler) and dates, from 1964, but is clear, relevant today, full in exposition and fair-minded: most useful reading now for British employers and trade unionists, especially on their respective limitations, Swedes seem to see things more reasonably than we.

ROBERTSON, ANDREW. *A Penguin Survey: Business and Industry, 1967-8*. 157pp. Penguin. 8s. 6d.

Essays of varying quality: those by Michael Ivens on retraining for redeployment, George Pulay on "A Good Year for Bankruptcies", K. W. Watkins on our industrial conflicts (pessimistic for the future), and Robert McKinnon on the relative under-payment of British executives and managers, (he estimates these at one million today!), are worthwhile and constructive, giving the book its real value.

VICKERS, GEOFFREY. *Value Systems and Social Process*. 217pp. Tavistock Publications. 38s.

The indefatigable lawyer-author continues his essays (earlier collections reviewed in these columns) on contemporary social problems arising from changes in ecology, ideas of progress, limits to government and planning, range of choice, and ("Beyond Descartes") the normative process, appreciative behaviour, and the humaneness of science: always wise, humane and apropos.

MARKETING

BATTERSBY, ALBERT. *Sales Forecasting*. 144pp. Cassell. 25s.

The advisory editor of the "Management Studies" series, Fellow of Balliol and former senior lecturer at the famous Cranfield Work Study school, author of the Penguin *Mathematics in Management* (1960), here provides a most useful handbook (with questions / problems and answers/solutions) for straightforward mathematical applications to market data, forecasting, &c., the appendix on logarithms (with tables for use) being specially thoughtful and practical; a model of its rare kind.

GLASSER, RALPH. *The New High Priesthood*. 251pp. Macmillan. 30s.

This strangely attractive book, beautifully laid-out and made, but with annoyingly small type, develops with much originality the familiar indictment of "marketers" and "ad-mass media" for robbing the consumers of their former sovereignty in markets. "One cannot legislate people into morality", the author admits; but his thoughtful book can expert, be also wrote *Planned Marketing: Policy for Business Growth* in 1964) analyses the methods whereby much dross and floss is by-produced from mass-marketing media. It is a bit too sweepingly condemnatory here and there: consumers still embarrass producers by their sovereignty, and it was not so great a century ago as the author seems to think, nor were consumers so well-informed or offered such wide ranges of choice and alternatives as they now are. But it is a useful corrective draught for over-euphoric, over-confident manipulators of such media.

KELLY, WILLIAM T. *Marketing Intelligence*. 248pp. Staples Press. £2 15s.

Formerly visiting professor of marketing at the University of Lancaster from the famous Wharton School of Finance and Commerce (University of Pennsylvania), the author breaks new ground with this careful, schematized draft for organizing, processing and utilizing market intelligence and data. Appendixes on a classification system (by F. H. Eby Jr.) and "British Sources of Information for Marketing Studies" (by M. K. Buckland) render the work specially useful for British practitioners and students: a commendably scholarly work.

MCIVER, COLIN. *Marketing*. Edited By Gordon C. Wilson. 261pp. Pan Books. 7s. 6d.

Revised, third edition of well-known work first published in 1959 for the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, by "ad-man" Gordon C. Wilson, M.A., with a foreword by another "ad-man" Sir John Rodgers, Bt., M.P., who rightly calls it a textbook for the student taking up a career in this vital area and of value "in making the concept of marketing better understood". Mr. McIver, also an "ad-man" and marketing expert in his own firm, does a sound job with hard material. Mr. Wilson adds a valuable chapter on industrial marketing.

WILLS, GORDON (Editor). *Sources of U.K. Marketing Information*. 304pp. Nelson. £3.

Sponsored by the go-ahead Market Research Society, this book is the result of teamwork headed by the Professor of Marketing at the equally go-ahead Management Centre of the University of Bradford and editor of *The British Journal of Marketing* and of *Management Decision*, with six colleagues and after sending out 10,000 questionnaires to all professional, trade association, trade journal, and governmental sources of such information. It is an invaluable handbook for all marketing people and students, covering foreign as well as British sources, official and unofficial offices and publications and intelligence/information departments (including British and foreign banks, international institutions, &c.). Indexes cover sources, titles of works and periodicals, the elements of all marketing, and the widely differing fields for which marketing operates: Egg Board producers to narrow fabrics, overseas banks to British advertising agencies' data, traffic statistics to crematoria. An admirably worthwhile job.

WINKLER, JOHN. *Marketing for the Developing Company*. 258pp. Hutchinson. £2 5s.

Nine-tenths of our manufacturing plants employ less than 200 persons each, and half our manufacturing workforce and nine-tenths of managing directors operate in units of less than 500 people. The author, aged thirty-three, is director of marketing in a food company which in five years has become a leader in catering; formerly he handled marketing problems for upwards of 230 companies through advertising agencies, &c. His dedication is to his eleven bosses in seventeen years whose brains he picked "without their knowing". It is a lively, logical, documented and full coverage of the managerial topic on which as a nation we are generally deemed most backward.

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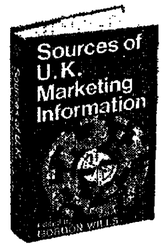
MUNRO FRASER, JOHN. *Principles and Practice of Supervisory Management*. 120pp. COMPTON, HENRY, and BENNETT WILLIAM. *Communication in Supervisory Management*. 113pp. DICKINSON, A. W. *Industrial Relations in Supervisory Management*, 128pp. SMITH, J. E. and RAY, G. H. *Financial Aspects of Supervisory Management*. 144pp. Nelson. 17s. 6d. each.

These useful, concise, schematized studies under the general editorship of the reader in personnel management at the University of Aston in Birmingham (J. Munro Fraser) are mainly for students working for management diplomas or certificates but also for "the 300,000 men and women in Britain who can be classified as supervisors, departmental heads, foremen, forewomen, or overlookers". They are clear, straightforward, nicely produced, and very much down-to-earth but also give wide ranging useful references to serious academic and other work in their several fields; their authors know their stuff and impart it.

YUILL, BRUCE. *Supervision: Principles and Techniques*. 358pp. Allen and Unwin. £2 15s.

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